

Invisible Women / Hidden Voices:

Women Writing on Sport in the Twentieth Century.

By Victoria Bennett

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of De Montfort University for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy.

September 2002.



IMAGING SERVICES NORTH

Boston Spa, Wetherby
West Yorkshire, LS23 7BQ
www.bl.uk

BEST COPY AVAILABLE.

VARIABLE PRINT QUALITY

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

Undertaking a project of this kind takes a great amount of support, advice and time for which I thank my family and the university for providing me with. Specifically thanks are due to Prof. Pierre Lanfranchi and Dr Imelda Whelehan for their supervision and guidance during this study and to Adam Bonner, for his continued support and inspiration. I could not have completed this project without you.

Thanks are also due to those who helped me to find the women sports writers: Dr Fred Hunter for providing valuable insight into Victorian women journalists; Mark Garrod, Secretary of the AGW for his valuable data on women members and archive minutes; Mary Fitzhenry of the SWA for her information about members of this union; to the IOJ and the BOA for allowing access to their archive material; and finally to the staff of the British Library, the Newspaper Library and St Brides Printing Library.

In addition, thanks are due to all the women journalists who participated in the research by giving their time and information in completing the questionnaire and being available for follow up interviews that provided vital material. (For completed list see Appendix 6.1). In particular, Liz Kahn for the extra personal information and time she gave.

ABBREVIATIONS:

ADM	- Annual Delegates Meeting
AGM	- Annual General Meeting
AGW	- Association of Golf Writers
AWSM	- Association for Women in the Sports Media
BOA	- British Olympic Association
IOJ	- Institute of Journalists
NCTJ	- National Council for the Training of Journalists
NPA	- Newspaper Proprietors Association
NUJ	- National Union of Journalists
PCC	- Press Complaints Commission
PGA	- Professional Golfers Association
SWA	- The Sports Writers Association of Great Britain
SWJ	- The Society of Women Journalists
SWW	- Society of Women Writers
UNESCO	- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WIPU	- Women's International Progressive Union

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page no.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN TEXT, FOOTNOTES AND APPENDICIES	ii
INTRODUCTION:	1
PART ONE: INVISIBLE WOMEN	
1. Methodology	22
2. The Historical Development of the Twentieth Century Women Sports Writers	46
3. Realities of the Profession for Women	113
4. Who Were 'The Women Sports Correspondents'?	157
PART TWO: HIDDEN VOICES	
5. Finding the Hidden Voice	175
6. An Alternative Canon of Sports Writing	216
7. Conclusion	253
LIST OF TABLES	263
LIST OF APPENDICIES	264
BIBLIOGRAPHY	303

INTRODUCTION:

'At a party last weekend I was addressed by a large and impressive leonine ex-sportsman, of 1930ish vintage, hung with gold chains as though his torso had been cordoned off, and brandishing a dinosaur-sized cigar..."Ere", he said, posting a good slug of the house red down his gullet, "how can a woman write about football?" (Julie Welch)¹

The belief that women have not or even cannot write on sport has created a perception that women did not form careers as sports writers throughout the 20th Century. This left those who did find a way into the profession ignored, ridiculed and forced to confront comments like those above. Their capabilities were undermined simply because of gender assumptions, based on the continuing negative relationship of women to sport.² Historically in both the institutions of sport and the media, the male individuals in power resisted the entrance of women and often resented their inclusion as valid participants. Women in this area have never been allowed to forget their gender, nor every one of the derisive connotations associated with the concept 'feminine' in the sporting ideal. It is their gender, rather than talent or aptitude, which has dictated their success and how their writing was received. They were denied employment opportunities and their work was often dismissed from the sports pages, which were dominated by male sport. An analysis of their work shows it was often restricted to locations 'outside' the sports section and this in turn hindered their status as legitimate sports writers. As a result they were largely 'invisible' in the sporting press and their writing 'hidden' from the current recorded historical development of sports writing.

The recovery of women's contribution to sports writing is a vital feature in understanding the *whole* sporting voice, not merely the traditional 'masculine' perspective of the print media.

Understanding the gender nature of the sporting press is a key aspect of the history of sports writing. A history which ignores the role, treatment, status and contributions of women does

¹ Welch, J. (1979). Women in Sport. *The Observer*. 30 September. p. 30.

² The term 'writer' is chosen over 'journalist' because to use the term 'journalist' would neglect the variety of their writing styles. The use of the term 'writer' instead encapsulates the diversity of women covered who were not only journalists, but athletes, supporters, writers, authors, columnists, reporters, correspondents and interviewers. The diversity in their backgrounds is demonstrated in Appendix 6.3 and their contributions in the print media extended beyond the realm of newspapers. However 'journalism' is still used to refer to profession as a whole.

not tell the whole history. Only by understanding the effects of the minority representations of female expression, can the power of the majority male expression be more clearly perceived. However the existence of women sports writers has been essentially disregarded in previous academic studies, which have instead mainly focused on the way women and sport are generally portrayed in the media. For example, Sue Alexander's 'Newspaper Coverage of Athletics as a Function of Gender' (1984) is valuable in its examination of sexism in the coverage of women's sport in newspapers and concludes that more women sports writers would be the solution to benefiting their representation in the media.³ While this is certainly the case, it overlooks the existing contributions of the female sporting voice. It does not ask **why** there are not more women working as sports writers? In order to address this question, this thesis will look back at how women entered and prospered in the profession, throughout the century to gain a fuller understanding of the reasons why.

The twentieth century has been given various accolades at one time or another; such as the 'century of sport', 'the century of media' or 'the century of women' and yet no research has been undertaken into the interconnection of all three component parts, in the form of the woman sports writer. During this time the women's movement progressed like never before; the trend towards organised sport emerged and a greater increase in leisure time saw the participation of a wider group of people - including women. The media were transformed by a variety of new technologies, a boom in press circulation and the phenomenon of radio and television, however the effect of the interaction between all three has not been explored in terms of women's active participation in accessing the power of the media, as journalists and writers.

In the process of researching the history of women sports writers this topic was called a 'non-subject' by a fellow academic. The assumption was that there were none to find, at least, none of any value to the canon of sports reporting. This example is based on the assumption that if women had been writing, their names would already be known. It shows how easy it is

³ Alexander, S. (1984). Newspaper Coverage of Athletics as a Function of Gender. *Women's Studies International Forum*. 17. 6. pp. 655-662.

for errors to made that suppose that the only sports writing of value is the male dominated area of 'match reporting', which was the traditional mainstay of the conventional sports pages. As such, only the 'exceptional' women such as Julie Welch, who became a strong presence in the *Observer* as a match reporter in the 1970s, are acknowledged. The logic was that there were no others, so why look? This presumption contains the same kind of prejudice which underestimates and also dismisses women's achievements as athletes from the newspapers. In the sporting arena, the ideal has usually been represented by a masculine image of strength and physical prowess which privileges male and leaves the female as 'other'. This covert system of discrimination explains why women have been overlooked, not only by scholars, but history texts, newspapers and contemporary colleagues.

Literature Review:

Texts which addressed the overall history of the press, all fail to give more than a passing review to the issues of gender, if they include the topic at all. As Marzolf implies *Up From the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists* (1977) women have been relegated to the insignificant footnotes of history texts, a situation she rectifies in this book by providing an account of their role in the history of the press in America. As the historical reviews of journalism are the texts that have defined the field then it is here where it is significant to identify their lack of recognition of the role of women in Britain. This can be seen in key texts such as Mansfield, *Gentlemen, the Press! Chronicle of a Crusade* (Official History of the National Union of Journalists (1943); Herd, *The March of Journalism: The Story of the British Press from 1622 to the Present Day* (1952); Levy, *The Press Council - History, Procedure and Cases* (1967); Needham, *50 Years on Fleet Street* (1973); Boyce et al, *Newspaper History - from the 17th Century to the Present Day* (1978); Seymour-Ure, *The British Press and Broadcasting since 1945* (1996). In this collection of books all focus on transitions; such as, war, technological change, the development of unions, the value of a free press, new journalism or market forces. This examination of the evolution of journalism is vital to understand how the industry was shaped, but the omission of areas like the effects of class, race and gender makes it a less than complete picture. Works such as *The Mirror: A Political*

History, Newspaper History: From the 17th Century to the Present Day (1966); *50 Years of Fleet Street* (1973); and *One Hundred Years of Journalism; Social Aspects of the Press* (1984), all only give passing reference to both sports writing and women in journalism, despite the fact they have both been large areas of growth.

A quick glance at the indexes and chapter headings of these books show that women were not included. Chapters such as 'The Structure, Ownership and Control of the Press 1914 - 1976' in Boyce et al focuses on the men who dominated the direction of the press, ignoring the story of the voices which were struggling to be heard. Herd also looks at the great men, 'the innovators of change like WT Stead' and others such as Northcliffe.⁴ The diagram of NUJ leadership in Mansfield's book shows women were only the briefest presence in the leadership structure. Their focus was mainly on the profession of journalists as a group, without concern for women's part within this group. Although Mansfield does note women had equal membership of the NUJ, they were not an equal part of his review. He only briefly refers to the kind of extreme prejudice unique to women in the pay reviews with the NPA in 1917.⁵ Women faced issues which were unique to them in the profession and the failure to explore them has resulted in an incomplete history of the profession.

Few women were written about and when they were acknowledged, it was with only brief and occasional reference in the indexes. Texts which were intending to review the industry at different periods which did have a small reference to women such as Simonis, *The Street of Ink: An Intimate History of Journalism* (1917); Ewart et al, *100 Years of Fleet Street - As seen through the Eyes of the Press Club* (1982); Bainbridge *One Hundred Years of Journalism* (1984); Boston, *The Essential Fleet Street. Its History and Influences* (1990); Read *The Power of Reuters 1849 - 1989* (1992) did provide some references to either the role of women in the evolution of the profession, or at least, show their existence. For example, Read does focus on the powerful men who he highlights as shaping the development of Reuters, but he also refers to women and includes some of the particular

⁴ Herd, H. (1952). *The March of Journalism: The Story of the British Press from 1622 to the Present Day*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, p. 224.

⁵ Mansfield, F.J. (1943). *Gentlemen, the Press!* p. 232.

difficulties they had during their employment. He records the bravery of the few women he states were successful at Reuters, such as Dorothy Nicholson who in the 1930s set up press services for Reuters in India, Egypt, Australia and South Africa.⁶ Boston's focus on the history of Fleet Street was also a male-centred historical account, but also includes a brief account of where women entered the industry selling newspapers known as 'mercuries' in 1664.⁷ It contains references to women, but only in conjunction with their professional association to their husband's. For example, he notes printer and publisher Benjamin Harris' printer wife as being visible in 1890, but she was not individually named.⁸ These texts do give a passing recognition of women, but not enough to establish a sense of what their working lives were like. The manner in which women were referred to here, with such a fleeting glance, could mistakenly be interpreted as the only input they had, yet comparing the evidence in other texts proves this was not simply the case.

Text's by Simonis (1917), Bainbridge (1984), and Ewart (1982) et al provided enough evidence of the presence of women by recording their names, publications and roles. While again there was only the barest sense of what their professional lives were like, it was the start of a historical record. Simonis refers to the existence of women briefly in his review of Fleet Street in the year 1917. From his work it was possible to identify the variety of work women were actually undertaking in 1917 (See Appendix Four). This was the same for Bainbridge's official union account, like Mansfield, the book spoke of equal rights for women, but their place was hardly reviewed. It does include a section entitled 'Women in Journalism' which examines women's issues, but this separate reference presents them as an aside to the 'real' history of the profession. Yet his work was important because he records the rise of women from two, when he arrived in Fleet Street in 1900, to a time thirty years later when every 'newspaper had at least one women on their staff'.⁹ His recognition solidifies their existence, but still there was no depth, only their names. In a few instances he gives more

⁶ Read, D. (1992). *The Power of News: The History of Reuters 1849-1989*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 381.

⁷ Boston, R. (1990). *The Essential Fleet Street it's History and Influences*. London: Blandford. p. 24.

⁸ Boston, R. (1990). *Ibid*. p. 33.

⁹ Bainbridge, C. (1984). *One Hundred Years of Journalism; Social Aspects of the Press*. Hampshire and London: Institute of Journalists, p. 113.

details. For example, Alice Cornwall who brought the *Sunday Times* in 1887 and was succeeded in 1893 by Rachel Beer. Another Flora Shaw, was the first professional woman staff correspondent and Colonial Editor of the *Times* and he also significantly refers to the one woman president of the IOJ, Marguerite Peacocke in 1967.¹⁰ This was one of the most useful references on the input of women, but understanding beyond the contemplation of existence does not occur. Ewart et al inserts an extract on the role of women journalists which gave some acknowledgement to the relevance of sex differences. He notes they were

regarded with wary toleration right up to the second world war. They simply couldn't be trusted! Too innocent and inept!¹¹

This comment was made tongue-in-cheek, but in its seriousness he was mocking the views as they were at that time, and this gives an idea of the problems of inequality between the sexes. However his inclusion of women was also an aside to the rest of the history, with a small part entitled 'Women Show the Way'.¹² It discusses their importance in the evolution of the industry, but once again, in relation to their husbands. He chooses to highlight Mrs Mallet, Editor of the 'first English Daily newspaper' the *Daily Courant* in 1702, whose husband was 'her publisher'; Mrs Johnson, who was Editor of 'the first Sunday newspaper' which was stated as being 'E Johnson's *British Gazette & Monitor*'.¹³ Both discussed women in relation to men and none include the same women. This shows how vulnerable women were to historical reviews and how subjective they can be. It also raises the question how many other women were lost by not being deemed important enough for inclusion.

The gaps in the history of women sports writing can be seen through a examination of the key texts in the history of journalism. While texts such as, Bennett *Journalism for Women: A Practical Guide* (1898), Sphinx *Journalism as a Career for Women* (1918), Crawshaw *Journalism for Women* (1932) and Sebba *Battling for News: The Rise of the Woman Reporter* (1994) do offer a general assessment of the relationship between women and the professional construction of journalism, they contain no specific examples of them as sportswriters. In these texts sport was not an area of journalism where women featured.

¹⁰ Bainbridge, C. (1982). *One Hundred Years of Journalism..* p. 112.

¹¹ Ewart, A. and Leonard, V. (1982). *100 Years of Fleet Street.* p. 11.

¹² Ewart, A. and Leonard, V. (1982). *Ibid.* p. 11.

They were generally contained in 'feminine' topics of cooking or fashion, which was apparent from the contents page in *Journalism as a Career for Women* (1918), which focused on 'The Fashion Writer and the Fashion Artist' or in the case of the later text, it only addressed the 'masculine' specialism of hard news and war reporting.¹⁴ Although female historians have accepted the notion that 'most early female journalists found their jobs in fashion, gossip and feature writing', some texts did offer suggestions to the contrary.¹⁵ Sections on how to become a sports writer in texts such as Graham's *Journalism for Women* (1949), demonstrate that women were interested in writing on this area. However, although references to them were few and far between, they proved that women were seeking careers in sports writing.

However, the achievements of women was not the only significant gap in the history of newspapers. The development and contribution of the sports section was also notably vacant. Not only is there no body of work looking at women's role in sports writing, but the general historical link between sport and journalism has not been explored.¹⁶ Sports writing is only investigated in more contemporary interpretations, as academic studies into the mass media began to expand. Also most of the texts offering a critical analysis were American - *Modern Sportswriting* (1969) and *Sports Journalism at its Best* (1995) - while the British texts were often compilations of collections of sports writing or male writers personal experiences. For example, *A Sportswriter's Year* (1989), *My Life and Soft Times* (1971), *Only on Sundays* (1989), *Motty's Diary: A Year in the Life* (1996), *The Sportswriter. Twenty Years of Award-Winning Sports Journalism* (1996), all are biographical, either looking at a whole career or a 'year in the life of...', or, like the latter, a collection of the author's work. These are valuable

¹³ Ewart, A. and Leonard, V. (1982). *100 Years of Fleet Street*. p.11.

¹⁴ Sphinx, A. (pseud). (1918). *Journalism as a Career for Women*. London: George Newnes. p. 3. And Sebba, A. (1994). *Battling for News: The Rise of the Woman Reporter*. London: Sceptre.

¹⁵ Marzolf, M. (1977) *Up From the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists*. New York: Communication Arts Books, Hastings House Publishers. p. 271.

¹⁶ There is only one text which deals wholly on the writing of women and that is an collection of American writing by Rapoport, *A Kind of Grace: A Treasury of Sportswriting by Women* [sic], (1994). This is a compilation text with no theoretical discussion and offers little personal experience of the contributors. Although not suitable for this research for these reasons and as an American text it is important to note a collection showing the type and context of writing by women does now exist.

because they offer an understanding of the working life of male sports writers and provide a comparison, they are also evidence of how their lives have been given merit in society in more recent years. Other texts that also give some form of examination, such as *The Press we Deserve* (1971), which has a whole chapter on the 'Sports Page', and *The Press Council - History* (1967) *Procedure and Cases and Gentlemen, The Press!* (1943) which both include references to writing and issues relating to the sports pages in general chapters, but these are rare and insufficient examples.

These omissions from historical texts serve as a double whammy to women. In the first instance they faced a great struggle to enter a career in journalism and then in sports writing, they were not recognised professionally or historically. The reason for this could be found when consideration is given to the authors of such texts. The question to be asked is who has been responsible for writing the history of journalism? It has had the tendency to focus on the 'editors' as 'professional heroes' and has 'most often been written as the biography of the great men who have left their mark on the industry'.¹⁷ As this was the case in many of the texts reviewed above, then the rationalisation as to why the experiences of women have not been recorded, is because they have not been the ones writing the texts. The evidence of the literary review of journalism texts showed the focus was on *his*-tory and only contained a limited amount of information on the background of women. Golf writer, Liz Kahn argues this is because the work of women was often not valued as a serious professional contribution.¹⁸ Even some of the texts written on women's journalism were by men. *Journalism for Women: A Practical Guide* (1898) was written by a man and while giving valuable insight into their experience in journalism, it was based on the situation as he saw it and not from the perspective of the women themselves.

Although there have been numerous texts and research projects by feminist academics looking at the relationship between women, sport and the media, the emphasis has been on the portrayal of women as athletes and not as writers within the profession. Nearly all

¹⁷ Elliot, P. (1978). Professional Ideology and Organisational Change: the Journalist since 1800. In Boyce, G., Curran, J., and Wingate P. *Newspaper History: From the 17th Century to the Present Day*. London: Constable and Company. p. 187.

suggest how newspapers have traditionally ignored reporting on women's sport and that when it was included, the sporting woman was sexualised to conform to an ideal of the passive female.¹⁹ Others are predominantly examinations of women in the sports media and have focused on the issue from the perspective of women as athletes and participators in sport, only in conclusion have such research began to ask how that has affected them as writers. Research like Bryson's, 'Sport and the Maintenance of Masculine Hegemony', looks at how the systems and constructions of the media, ignore and trivialise women's sporting achievements and it concludes the solution to this situation is to challenge the 'definitions of sport' not just with 'anti-discrimination provisions' or as sports women, but also by taking up roles as 'commentators' and 'reporters'.²⁰ Bryson suggests the importance of studying women in this role and believes it to be the key issue in the relationship for women in sport and the media. In Coddington, *One of the Lads - Women who Follow Football*, (1997) the author includes a chapter on women working in the sports media and while these relatively contemporary interviews are an excellent comparison for the experiences of earlier women, on their own they create the impression that it is a relatively recent phenomenon. This text is based on the fact of their highly visible boom in the sports media in the 1990s. For example, in the media in 1999 Sue Barker presents tennis, Kirsty Gallagher presents Sky Sport news, Eleanor Oldroyd presents Radio 5 Live sports, Sue Mott interviews a sports star in the *Daily Telegraph* and Vikki Orvice reports on Football for the *Sun*, but current research does not acknowledge the progress they represent and little is known about who they are, who came before them, and how their career developed. The fact that Barker is an ex-sports star, Gallagher's father is a top professional golfer and others worked many hours a week, without pay to break into their profession are important aspects of understanding their success. However, while the contemporary analysis that is available may be inadequate it is still crucial to building an historical image of women sports writers.

¹⁸ Information from interview with Liz Kahn.

¹⁹ Such as Kane, M.J. and Greendorfer, S.L. 'The Media's Role in Accommodating and Resisting Stereotyped Images of Women in Sport'. In Creedon, P. (Ed). (1994). *Women, Media and Sport: Challenging Gender Values*. London: Sage. And Alexander, S. (1984). Newspaper Coverage of Athletics as a Function of Gender. *Women's Studies International Forum*. 17, 6. pp. 655 - 662.

²⁰ Bryson, L. (1987). Sport and the Maintenance of Masculine Hegemony. *Women's Studies International Forum*. 10, 4. 349 - 360. p 359.

There are only two other texts which contemplate women writing on sport, as a group. The first by Creedon, *Women, Sport and the Media: Challenging Gender Values* (1994) has three chapters directly on their needs, concerns, and issues, much of it based on direct conversations with the journalists. This is an invaluable attempt to collate a brief history and highlight the issues that affected their evolution. The other is Burton-Nelson's, *The Stronger Women Get, the More Men Love Football: Sexism and the Culture of Sport* (1996). Both have an important theoretical foundation which considers the complex analysis of women, media, and sport and the outcome this has on wider society. However, for the purpose of this research their uses are restricted because of the focus on American journalism, but with this in mind, their perspectives are an invaluable starting point. They both analyse all the factors of the dilemma for women, not only from the position of athletes and consumers, but to its final conclusive step - as the producers of sports communication are a guide to the goals and aims of this research for British women.

The biographical texts that were available for examination were the key sources of information, as these were the only way to uncover who they were, both personally and professionally. Those studied showed a distinction in form and content which reflected the two major ways women entered the profession. The evidence of this forms a crucial part of Chapter Three in forming a greater understanding of their backgrounds; their education, family life, professional development and socialisation into sport. In the first half of the century the women writers tended to come from a prominent sporting background, yet in the second half of the century they were less likely to have personal sporting achievements to qualify them and instead they made their career based on their expertise as journalists. Eleanor Helme, Rachel Heyhoe-Flint, Alyson Rudd and Julie Welch all wrote autobiographies on their careers as sports writers and came from a variety of backgrounds with a differing emphasis of 'sporting' versus 'writing' expertise. Helme as the earliest writer (*After the Ball - Merry Memories of a Golfer: Being the Story of Forty-Six Championships and Other Golfing Occasions Pursued with Clubs, Notebooks and Pencil* (1931)) was of great interest because she was the only sports writer of her time period to detail her writing experiences. However, as she was also continuing her golfing career at the same time as writing, the text tends to

focus on her observations on women's golf rather than her own career, yet the references to her time as a writer are precious. Her memoirs are the key to comparing how the role of women sports writers has changed. By comparison Heyhoe-Flint's *Heyhoe! The Autobiography of Rachel Heyhoe Flint* (1978) was also valuable in filling in a time frame. Like Helme she also began as a player, excelling for England in both Hockey and Cricket and then moved into journalism. Again much of the book concentrates on her experiences as a player. Yet the information she reveals in the two chapters on her working life in the print media are essential.

The autobiographies of Rudd and Welch are both written in the 1990s and are of women whose sole career focus has been as a writer. Rudd's, *Astroturf Blonde: Up Front and Onside in a Man's Game* (1999), was about her life as a writer who loves sport and this desire leads her to undertake playing in a male team of park football and moving from financial journalism into her role as a football writer. The autobiography centres on her entrance into the profession and it was here where her development and experience can be compared with earlier women. Yet it was Welch's *Long Distance Information* (1999) which was the key autobiography. As the first woman to work as a Fleet Street football reporter, her high profile role captured the public's imagination and her visibility meant she was a regular subject for discussion. The significant factor was that her celebrity status has nothing to do with any sporting accomplishment. Although she began her sports writing career in the same period as Heyhoe-Flint, Welch was representative of the future of women, enjoying a full career as a sports writer, while Heyhoe was more representative of the ex-champion writer in the first half of the century. Welch had no sporting background to qualify her. Like Rudd she only had her talent as a writer and a love of sport, but Welch began her career over 20 years before Rudd. For these reasons her text was very important for this study. The other biographical texts available were those on women whose main profession was as a player first, but who began writing because they were experts on their subject. Joyce Wethered, *Golfing Memories and Methods* (1933), and Cecil Leitch, *Golf* (1922), were texts which were written to serve as more instructional manuals, than biography. But as the instruction was given from a personal perspective it does give access into the lives of both

women. The material does not offer insight into their careers as writers, but does provide background data on those who wrote about sports.

The biographical texts offered the opportunity to compare the experiences of men and women writers, in order to define which incidents were specific to the profession and which were particularly gendered issues. Full biographical statements by Henry Longhurst in *My Life and Soft Times* (1971) and *Only on Sundays* (1989), Peter Wilson, *The Man they couldn't Gag: An Autobiography* (1977), Alan Watkins, *Sports Writer's Eye: An Anthology* (1989) and Brian Glanville in *Football Memories* (1999) all gave details of the writer's backgrounds, entrance into the profession, and working accounts. In addition, texts written on the basis of a diary such as Simon Barnes, *A Sportswriter's Year* (1989) and John Motson, *Motty's Diary: A Year in the Life* (1996) were good comparisons for the daily practical life of their male colleagues. This supplied the foundation to consider which aspects of journalism were particularly difficult for women. Finally, collections and celebrations of mainly male sports writing in texts like, *The Esquire Book of Sports Writing* (1995) and Patrick Collins', *The Sportswriter: Twenty Years of Award-Winning Sports Journalism* (1996) give examples of what was viewed as 'good' sports writing and this criteria and canon of writing can be used for comparative purposes. If, as discussed above 'man' can only be defined in contrast to 'woman' then understanding their lives is a significant method for comparison. While a full study of the writing by men in newspapers, could not be undertaken in the scope of this research, studying such texts did offer additional perception.

Finally, the biographical work of women who had formed a career in journalism - Mary Stott, *Forgettings No Excuse: The Autobiography of Mary Stott Journalist and Campaigner* (1994), Jean Goodman *Anything but Housework* (1973), Audrey Russell *A Certain Voice* (1984), and Clare Hollingworth *Front Line* (1990) - allowed the opportunity to see how their personal experiences may have worth for understanding the profession as a whole.²¹ Stott was particularly important as a writer who made her name on the 'women's' page and discusses

²¹ The biography of contemporary journalist Kate Adie *The Kindness of Strangers: The Autobiography*. (2003) is also examines the relationship between a female journalist and her male colleagues.

the relevance of its role. She also demonstrated ambitions to take on 'non-feminine' roles in the industry and is an interesting comparison to see how she was herded towards the 'women's' page, rather than her desire to be a sub-editor, which she notes was 'a daft ambition for a girl in those days' and even at the time of writing in 1994 she writes 'some people still think it daft'.²² This shows practical evidence of how women were restricted from the career progression they desired into one that was 'feminine' and acceptable. In comparison, both Russell and Goodman write about their experiences in entering the profession. Goodman detailed her difficulty in getting in and the surprise she received from her peers and those in the profession that this was a career she wished to pursue. She relates a tale of advice given from her tutor on her Practical Journalism Course at Kings College, who told her 'getting your first job as a journalist is the most difficult job you'll ever have to do...For you...It will be virtually an impossibility'.²³ This comment was directed at a woman who had begun her career at the time of the WWII. Her stories prove an insight into the experiences more generally because the advice was based on her gender and not on her personal merit. Finally Hollingworth's life story provides awareness into her exciting career as a war reporter and how she challenged the restrictions of her gender in entering this 'masculine' specialism. Her tales of bribing airline pilots and dressing up as a nurse to get to the front line action, as well as confronting the bans and restrictions she overcame, are similar in style to those faced by sports writers. The merit of examining the content of these secondary sources is that they offer the bench mark from which to criticise the primary resources. The data found here would prove invaluable in understanding why the difficulties arose with locating primary sources and how to interpret the information which was uncovered.

To address this neglect this research must begin to deconstruct the negative assumptions surrounding groups of people in history about which little is known. Previous feminist studies have argued that the significance of investigating the past is to have the ability to redefine the future, and it is for this reason that it is so crucial to develop a further understanding of

²² Stott, M. (1994). *Forgetting's No Excuse: The Autobiography of Mary Stott. Journalist and Campaigner*. Halifax: Remploy, A Portway Large Print Book. (First published 1973). p. 66/67.

²³ Goodman, J. (1973). *Anything but Housework*. Lavenham, Suffolk: Terence Dalton. p.18.

women sports writers. The argument is that 'if women saw themselves as marginal in the past it would reinforce their view of themselves as subordinate and powerless in the present', therefore affecting future generations of women in sports writing as their position as a 'non-subject' is continued.²⁴ Only the examination of the factors behind their marginalisation will allow an understanding of how and why it developed, giving a greater insight into their work, lives, profession and very existence.

As historians have uncovered and reclaimed the evidence of women's direct achievement as participators in sports, this study will present proof of women's existence and exhibit their value in sports writing. It is not intended to record the experiences of every woman writing on sport this century, nor is it a personal account in a biographical sense, but what it does intend to do is reflect on those who illustrate the general trends and issues. It is also not possible in the scope of this research to examine all the intricacies in the position of women to sport. Where questions of economics, class and race will have certainly been additional determining factors in the success of individual women becoming sports writers, this research foregrounds the key issue of women writers' gender as the factor influencing their success in the profession. However, the sociological importance of class in relation to their lives will be considered, particularly regarding access to education and leisure time. The decision to concentrate on the print media and its issues for women was taken because it was the only medium where its development could be traced over the entire century. As it precedes both Radio and Television its analysis would provide the foundation for other future comparisons with both.

During this study two distinct aspects in uncovering the history of women sports journalists emerged. The first was the need to prove their existence - finding who they were, while uncovering their work and place within the profession. The second aspect was to analyse the writing that was found and discover what this revealed about the writers. It is these same two distinct aspects of the investigation that form the basis of the structure for this thesis. Its

²⁴ Hannam, J. (1997). Women, History and Project. In Robinson, V. and Richardson, D. (Eds.). *Introducing Women's Studies* (2nd edit.). London: Macmillan. p. 77.

organisation reflects the need to retrieve not only the place of women writers, but also to provide an awareness of how their discrimination occurred within the press and how they found a voice outside of the conventional structures. Therefore the first section (Chapters 1 - 4) concentrates on their status as 'invisible women' and how and why this happened. It focuses on discovering their development in a domain that was hostile towards them, how this resistance is perpetuated and who they were both personally and professionally. It also creates a narrative to challenge their 'invisibility' and replace it with the reality of their lives. The second section (Chapters 5 and 6) focuses on the 'hidden voice' and looks at how the gendered nature of the print media worked against women and how they did find a means of expression. The evidence in this section is based on a collection of sports writing by women which was uncovered in the process of this investigation. When studied as a whole body of work, it can be viewed and examined as a canon of sports writing by women.

Chapter One: Methodology:

This chapter will set up the major arguments, detail the intended methodological approach, and outline the main debates and sociological themes. In addition it will establish the main questions of the dissertation, the difficulties that were encountered and how they have been resolved. While it may seem as though this chapter takes on a number of purposes, it was necessary because of the multi-disciplinary approach to this research. This chapter outlines the types of feminist, media and literary analysis required to develop a research method to study the contributions of women sports writers, in conjunction with their historical development. It was important to fully discuss the implications of the multi-discipline approach and how they interact as a whole because the subsequent body of work represents a process of how the research developed due to the issues raised here. Each of the following chapters are effected by the problems of studying the relationship between women, sport and the media, therefore these are discussed in full in this separate chapter.

In setting out to research a 'non subject' there were many problems and concerns with sources, archives, primary and secondary sources which had to be overcome. A selection of archives newspapers, journals and books were used for the purpose of primary research, and

how they were examined and selected, will be outlined. The testimonials of women, who were uncovered and contacted via questionnaire was also used to add the option of oral history.

The first priority of this chapter is to establish a sound theoretical base for exploration of the subject. It begins with details of the epistemological framework, which is informed by feminist theoretical approaches and will explain why this method of examination is particularly suitable to this study. Disputes about the 'feminine' capacity of women to write on sport will be considered, with particular attention to how the gendered stereotypes in society are constructed and can become apparent in practical ways. For example, the sports they are allowed to cover and the types of publication where their writings could be found. Finally it will address the problems associated with writing a narrative about the highly gendered discourse of sports writing, and the assumptions it contains; such as the belief that the word 'athlete' is generally assumed to be male in common with 'doctor' or 'author'.

Chapter Two: - Historical Development of the Women Sports Writers.

This chapter places particular importance on when women were first able to break into the profession of journalism and the emerging area of sports writing. The major issue for women in any form of employment is that their suitability for the job was often determined by biological difference. They were restricted by the assumptions of what was considered appropriate 'feminine' employment and how this evolved in sports journalism in the form of the 'Play to Write' debate. By reviewing a cross-section of union archives, personal testimonies, industry texts, and journals it was possible to identify how elements such as access to training, education, and the entry requirements had specific concerns for women. The shifts in social conditions, with improvements in child care, increases in leisure time and education, were instrumental for their involvement in all areas of employment. Changes in the status of women as citizens, and the profession itself, would also have an effect on how they gained entry and their success in doing so.

However, the investigation to find the women sports writers and place them in history was a arduous task. The Macmillan Dictionary of Women's Biography collated in 1982 contains no references to women writing on sport, despite the fact that several women like Kahn, Welch, Besford and Price-Fisher were already well established in their careers.²⁵ Women sport writers were either not valued in the collation of this text or were still largely 'invisible', even where the focus was on women. By adding the accomplishments of women such as, Majorie Pollard, Eleanor Helme, Enid Wilson, Rachel HeyHoe-Flint, Elizabeth Price-Fisher, Julie Welch and Liz Kahn - to name but few - back into records, the history of journalism will be enriched. It will also help to address why such omissions occurred, particularly when as Hunter discusses in his paper on 'Girl Reporters' (1992), journalism was considered a suitable form of employment for them in Victorian society.²⁶ Why did this belief and acceptability not develop and grow? Why did it not transfer to sports journalism? Today women sports writers still remain susceptible to the opinions of their male colleagues, such as, those of Brian Glanville, who states women writing on sport are people who were 'not chosen for their talent or insight but were simply a fad'.²⁷ These prejudices are evident in varying forms throughout the century and are at the basis of why women struggled to build on their early successes.

Chapter Three: Realities of the Profession

The more women became visible in the sporting realm, the stronger the resistance towards them grew. This chapter will consider sex differences in journalism and how women had to contend with prejudice, obstacles and problems that their male colleagues did not. The analysis of the questionnaire responses undertaken for this study (See Appendix 6) and biographies illustrate common themes of sexual harassment, discrimination, absence from press boxes and refusals to issue accreditation press passes, all of which were forms of discrimination that directly hindered their ability to undertake their job. This chapter will

²⁵ Uglow, J. (Compiler and Editor). (1982). *The Macmillan Dictionary of Women's Biography*. London: Macmillan.

²⁶ Hunter, F. (1992) Girl Reporters: Entry Training, Cover and Networking in Late Victorian England. Unpub. Paper presented at The Research Society for Victorian Periodicals Conference, 10;00am-12:15pm, 11 July. p. 8.

²⁷ Welch, J. (1997). It Helps if you're a Good Sport. *You - Sunday Express*. 9 March. p. 28.

explore how women sports writers faced a combination of troubles; firstly because of the general standing of women in journalism and secondly because of the position of women in the sports industry. As outsiders they were defined as women first and writers second, therefore they were often confronted with resentment of their position from their male colleagues, as well as the other men with whom they came into contact in the industry.

To allow a fuller contemplation of the difficulties specific to women writing on sport, the experiences of women war correspondents is used as a comparison. The gender concerns and social issues surrounding gender in both areas of journalism makes them ideal for complementary exploration. Both sets of specialisms faced instances of tokenism, discrimination, harassment, and other issues involved in the general employment of women. As another specialist subject, war reporting is also considered to be a 'masculine' domain because of the gender connotations inherent in 'war', which are constructed in similar ways to 'sport'. However, women have been more successful in war reporting, as demonstrated by the number of biographies on women war reporters that record their experiences, while there are little comparative examples in sport. For example, Marguerite Higgins, war correspondent (1920-1966) was a well known for her exploits from Berlin during World War II. Her role in accepting the surrender of SS guards in the Bavarian city of Augsburg and her reporting on both the Vietnamese and Korean wars, are well documented.²⁸ But how did these women manage to get to the front line, when others were so withheld from the side lines of sport? The main difference was that although the obstacles in war and sport were similar the war correspondents earned the respect of their colleagues and access quicker than the sports writer and overcame their obstacles sooner. The key difference was the concept of a common enemy in war united the genders, while there was no unifying element in sport. Women rarely compete with men in team sports. In sports writing they would continually share the relegation of sports women and confront discrimination on a regular basis.

²⁸ Schlipp, M. and Murphy, S. M. (1983). *Great Women of the Press*. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press. pp. 193-194.

Chapter Four: Who were the Invisible Women?

The women who found success in the face of such discrimination are the focus of this chapter. It aims to examine their lives, education and development and look at how the effects of their early experiences with sport and journalism helped shape them into the writers they later became. It considers the foundation and methods of their socialisation, in particular the role of individual family members in their induction to the world of sports. The relationship to sports is a highly significant factor explored in this chapter, because the women examined in this study were all generally viewed as 'exceptional' women because of their sporting passions. The analysis and comparison of how women were socialised into the sporting life provides an insight into how their exceptional lives evolved and highlights which factors made them unique and which united them. It compares their education and the training they undertook for the profession. The inclusion of the views of women on their development, background, education, training, and the profession itself, provides an illustration of what factors were vital in assisting them to find a career and celebrate their achievements.

Chapter Five: Finding the 'Hidden Voice'.

A systematic analysis of newspapers, books and periodicals revealed how much of women's sports writing was located outside of the main sports section. Although why this occurs cannot be known without having access to the minds and decisions of all the editorial staff of the newspaper industry, the evidence of the study illustrated it was one of the most serious issues for women in undermining their status as sports writers. This chapter will first look at three key forms of identification which were found in the placement outside the sports section - those which contained references to 'women's sport', 'feminine or emotive content' and 'women's issues in sport'. In addition it shows how their writing was placed - in alternative sections such as 'the women's page', magazines/supplements and alternative sports sections. It also identifies how this placement of their work portrays their work as having lesser values than the articles in the traditional sports section and therefore devalues their contribution to the reader.

However, it also considers how this placement of their writing could work in a positive manner for women by forming part of the alternative canon of sports writing. Although the data illustrates the majority of their work was not accepted or identified as sports writing, because it was not found in the traditional sports section, it also shows that the placement of their work on the 'women's page', and in specialist journals and books did have the potential for empowerment as an escape from the 'masculine' construction of sports writing. The examination of their work shows how the writers covered subjects and topics which were not addressed in the conventional section and how they adapted new styles aside from the traditional 'match reporting'. These sites gave them a safe distance from which to discuss issues that were particularly relevant to women. Where the sports pages did not report on women's events, they acted as an alternative sports section for them, ensuring their activities were recorded. Articles discussing 'women's issues' which were found in this alternative canon of writing provided a forum for women as writers and readers. Although this writing may have been more of a reactionary, rather than a revolutionary act - as the empowerment came from the way writing was gendered in the print media - its challenge from the 'outside' offers the potential to change the 'inside' content and what is 'sport' and 'sports writing'.

Chapter Six: An Alternative Canon of Sports Writing.

Chapter Six continue to explore the benefits of the 'outsider' perspective. An analysis of the trends in their writing illustrates a preference for styles emphasising a 'human interest', rather than a statistical focus, and it is argued it is this factor which denotes an 'inside' view of sport. This chapter will look at how the 'outsider' viewpoint can offer new perspectives and how the female voice can be a powerful and positive sporting expression. In identifying the problems and benefits of speaking with the female voice, this chapter will explore how this factor was the final obstacle in the evolution of women sports writers. It shows how they utilised the relegated position of the female voice to challenge and even effect change in the traditional styles of sports writing. The gradual transformation of the value and benefits in the female voice to the canon of sports writing is their most significant achievement because it is the key sign that they influenced and become part of the profession.

A history of sports writing which does not consider the gendered nature of the sporting press and its effect on women writers, is not presenting the whole story. The role, treatment, status and contributions of women to the sports pages are a vital part. Only by understanding the effects of the minority representations of female expression, can the power of the majority male expression be more clearly perceived. The history of sports writing will benefit from the inclusion of women's expression and begin to fill the gaps in the human story, in relation to the wider plight of women, sport and the media. Perhaps then the women sports writers of the future will be able to escape the perception by the press and sporting institutions which sees them as *women* first and writers second.

CHAPTER ONE: METHODOLOGY

"Few myths have been more advantageous to the ruling caste than the myths of woman; it justifies all privileges and even authorises their abuse."¹

Finding the 'invisible' women sports writers, and adding their contributions to the history of sports writing, was never going to be an easy task. Erased from history, researching the 'non-subject' would require a methodological framework which was prepared and equipped to go beyond a conventional historical review. Thus a gynocritical feminist framework was chosen as the most suitable format for this research. This term has been used where the focus of the research is to look to the past and rediscover and challenge the traditionally male defined areas of value. In any feminist discipline the goal is to go back and question history and reclaim the contributions of women. This type of feminist review is suitable for the multi-disciplinary nature of this research as the main focus is to inhabit and challenge it's subject. In this these a modern feminist approach was suitable for three main reasons.² Firstly, it provides a methodology which is adept at looking for the unseen and it is flexible enough to embrace the unconventional methods of investigation necessary. Secondly it offers a theoretical base which addresses the main issues affecting women's relegated position - that is the separation of the sexes and the gendered ideals of 'masculinity'/femininity' into the private and public spheres of society; and the sexual division of labour. Thirdly, it also provides a means to re-claim their writing, by following a similar process to that used in feminist literary theory to find women's work which is placed outside of the conventionally valued work.

Before detailing the methodology selected for this thesis it is important to first address some of the conceptual issues of the feminist framework and identify the reasons why it is suitable

¹ De Beauvoir, S. (1988). *The Second Sex*. (Picador Classics edit.) Translated and Edited by Pashley, H.M. London: Pan Books. p. 285.

² This framework is labelled feminist because of its focus on women writers, but it is also a suitable way for other minorities to consider when exploring matters of inequality. This is a focus which is based on equality through unity and understanding of both genders, in which indifference to individual traits is limiting to all. In addition the ignorance of the majority dominant voice, in both institutions, must be removed for all subsequent alternative views to restore the balance in past and present society.

and some of the difficulties it possess, as these conceptual issues are evident throughout the thesis.

Firstly the thesis benefits from a feminist framework because the goal of the feminist historian is to develop a system of research which seeks to make 'women visible'.³ None of the women surveyed for this research or uncovered in the periodicals search were included in the *Who's Who in the Press* - with the exception of Valerie Grove, a writer who did sports interviews.⁴ Not even the most basic record of factual evidence of their identity is known. To rectify this a feminist investigation will apply sources of information that are not usually valued, such as women's diaries and letters, where personal thoughts have been recorded and provide a greater insight into their lives.⁵ June Hannam states the benefits of recovering 'lost' women and making 'women visible' in this way is in the information it offers about the past as a 'source of strength' for contemporary women, by proving that their foremothers had achieved success in public areas.⁶ Therefore the development of the woman sports writer of yesterday, means that those writers who are still facing discrimination today can learn and gain strength from the past. The knowledge that other women have fought greater discrimination before and survived to establish careers, can offer positive motivation. In the case of women sports writers this meant it is vital to expand the methodological framework beyond the conventional domain of the male-centred sports pages.

Secondly, the feminist framework of this investigation reclaims the value of women's contributions, particularly in Section Two (Chapters Five and Six). Here where the aim is to uncover the hidden voice - the writings of women sports writers - the thesis has followed the same type of analysis as undertaken in feminists review of the historic contributions in women's literature, where their work has been recovered despite being marginalised by the traditional literary canon of works in society. It has been the goal of many feminist studies to show how the literary canon is male dominated and tends to ignore or trivialise the work of

³ Hannam, J. (1997). *Women, History and Protest*. p. 79.

⁴ (1986). *Who's Who in the Press*. (2nd edit). Ayr: Carrick Publishing.

⁵ For example texts such as Kenyon, O. (1992). *800 Years of Women's Letters*. Stroud: Alan Sutton.

⁶ Hannam, J. (1997). *Women, History and Protest*. p. 79.

women in literature. Toril Moi argues that the orthodox literary canon is a body of work which is used as an instrument of education, with the belief that by 'reading the "great works" the student will become a fine human being', because the author of such work has managed to 'convey an authentic vision of life'.⁷ She argues that this vision is generally the male 'norm' and not the vision of women, the 'outsiders', because they are rarely represented in this canon. Because of the way a 'canon' is chosen as a body of work which demonstrate value judgements, it is in itself problematic. However this does provide a sound theoretical base in the second section of the thesis, by supplying a way to recover the work that has been ignored, and examine the sports writing of women as a body of work, just as Ellen Moer's *Literary Women* (1994) argues that women's writing has operated as a "rapid and powerful undercurrent" and running under or alongside the main male tradition'.⁸ Section Two (Chapters Five and Six) of this research will argue that the writings of women on sport have functioned in the same way, as an alternative collection of work positioned in conjunction with the 'traditional' sports pages. Therefore for the purposes of this study, the writings of women will be located in a 'canon' of their own, to be used as a vehicle to show their relationship to the conventional canon of male sports writing. It cannot function on the same basis as the men's, because women are not equal in their representation, the male is in the privileged sports section, while the female is scattered around it. The comparison of the two does, however, offer the opportunity to demonstrate that the established grouping of the sports pages did indeed act as a 'canon', because of the way it only promoted the male perspective on sport and did not allow the 'female' to enter, whether as subject or author. Only by identifying their work as a collective whole, can it be given merit.

As typical procedures may not reveal appropriate data, when studying women's history the evidence should then be inspected for alternative information sources often presented as 'incidental' material. For instance the need to adopt a different strategy has been utilised in

⁷ Moi, T. (1994). *Sexual Textual Politics*. p. 78.

⁸ Moi, T. (1994). *Ibid*. p. 53.

The use of literary theory to recover the legitimacy of their writing on sport has a certain irony, because fiction and literary tales were one of the most accepted areas open to women writers trying to access the print media and yet women novelists have always struggled to get their work noted in the literary canon. The 'best openings' for women writers were indicated to be in fiction. In Lawrence, *Journalism as a Profession* (1903, p. 165.)

books such as *The Ladies Court Book* (1908) whose goal was to record the social activities of women. It notes how women's history is often hidden in their role as daughter, wife or sister because 'the ladies of England have had to be traced, so to speak, through their fathers or husbands or brothers' and so their history is learned by examining them in association to the men whose lives are readily recorded.⁹ This is a significant example of how the history of women has to be aware of their status in society and creative in the search for information sources.

Therefore the primary search under taken for the thesis went beyond the sports pages and as a result found women's sports writing was often located on the women's page, in newspaper supplements and magazines, women's journals, and books. In addition where related organisations and associated bodies were either hostile to requests for data or unaware of the material they did hold, the search for information sources adapted by examining potential archive sources for wider related issues and aimed to provide additional clues to the reasons why material was scarce. Previous research studies, such as *Women in Journalism*, developed an oral history project to recreate the history of American women in journalism. This project set up by the Washington Press Club to record the experiences of women. In total the 66 women who they interviewed provided a successful data base of documentary record to compare and contrast their experiences within journalism and the impact they saw themselves as having. Therefore questionnaires and interview request were included because past projects had proved the use of oral history in discovering the experiences of those who have been left out of more formal written records.¹⁰ In addition the use of questionnaires and also biographies incorporates the feminist concept of 'writing the self', because - it places importance on personal experience, rather than more conventional academic approaches.¹¹ The fact that women were missing from a variety of historical sources, means the examination had to get 'personal', at some level, because it is one of the few possible ways to gain entry to their lives.

⁹ (1908). *The Ladies Court Book*. London: W.H. Smith & Sons. Preface.

¹⁰ Rowbotham, S. (1999). *A Century of Women: The History of Women in Britain and the United States*. Penguin: London. p. 1.

¹¹ Stacey, J. (1997). *Feminist Theory: Capital F, Capital T*. In Richardson, D and Robinson, V. (Eds.). *Introducing Women's Studies*. (2nd edit.). London: Macmillan. p. 63.

Thirdly a feminist framework is based on the theory of the separation of the sexes in society as one of the major reasons for the subordination of women, where the culturally assembled placement of men and women are seen to operate as examples of 'appropriate' behaviour. Defined as 'private', the domestic space is usually associated with the 'feminine' and the 'public' sphere as the sanctioned 'masculine' space, but the crucial factor is that they are not equal distinctions. Within this relationship men are the 'norm' and women are the Other, a concept which is explained by pioneering feminist thinker, De Beauvoir, who argues men and women are situated in a dichotomy in society which:

is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her; she is the incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is the Subject, he is the Absolute - she is the Other.¹²

The effect of the juxtaposition of gender in sport is defined with male as the essential - the norm - and the female is placed outside this concept of normality by the establishment of the male as the Absolute.

Women taking up 'male' employment also upset the conventional sexual division of labour. For example in the mid 19th century upper/middle-class women underwent the transformation from being recognised as having 'useful work to perform' in the pre-industrial age to the 'newer ideals of grace and ornament' and firm deployment of 'woman' as fragile, confined to the new safety of the domestic sphere.¹³ This image of women formed an integral part of society and its cultural values.¹⁴ The industrial era began to solidify these gendered distinctions of labour when men began to work outside of the home.¹⁵ Margaret Marshment argues in *The Picture is Political* (1997) that the 'subordinate position' of women is not formed in isolation of society, but is confirmed by the perception of woman and their interaction with the 'multiplicity of structures, institutions and value systems' which constitute their overall subordination.¹⁶ This cultural division of labour was well established by the twentieth century, with the allocation of men and women into public and private spheres. It was a situation which faced fluctuations and redefinition in terms of gender, but never to the

¹² De Beauvoir, S. (1988). *The Second Sex*. p. 285.

¹³ Park, R. (1987). Sport, Gender and Society in a Transatlantic Victorian Perspective. p. 62.

¹⁴ Rowbotham, S. (1999). *A Century of Women*. p. 586.

¹⁵ Compton, R. & Sanderson, K. (1990). *Gendered Jobs and Social Change*. London: Unwin Hyman. p. 1.

extent where women and men have fully escaped gender ascription's. The basic belief that work = money and money = power and power = masculinity ensures the male hierarchy.¹⁷

Journalism was an industry which was wholly embedded with the gendered notions work and power. For example in 1967 one feature, 'The *Times* is a Pleasure to Read because its a Pleasure to Write' and its corresponding article 'Seven Reasons why The *Times* is a Pleasure to Read' illustrates the gender divisions in the industry.¹⁸ The first article focuses on male colleagues and presents an image of activity, because they 'write' the paper. The second article on women writers at the *Times*, represents them as the passive 'reader'. The first was written by an all male staff who tell of their pleasure of being journalists at the *Times*. They ranged from City, Financial, Business, Editors to correspondents for Economics, Industrial Affairs and a special writer, all discussing the problems and issues of their public sphere 'masculine' 'important' social subjects. While the second was by female staff with the focus on women editors from the Home Page, Junior Fashion, News and Features and Monday Page, Fashion, Art, and Women's Page, and a correspondent for News and Features. They also spoke about their hopes and achievements for their individual areas, but in contrast to their male colleagues these are subjects of 'feminine' concern. They are projected as speaking for 'other' women, while the men are speaking for the general public. The first article was accompanied by pictures of the men, dressed in suits perched in a group shot in an office environment. The second, on the women, was shot in a more glamorous style. They were all wearing short skirts and were heavily made up on a blank background which gave the picture a more posed model appearance, and took them out of the office environment and labelled them as object, rather than subject. The assumption with the male photo was that all the men had momentarily stopped work for a quick picture, whereas the

¹⁶ Marshment, M. (1997). *The Picture is Political*. p. 126.

¹⁷ Prather, J. (1971). *Why Women Can't be More Like Men*. In Fidell, L. and Delamater, J. (Eds.) (1971). *Women in the Professions: What's all the fuss about?* California: Sage Publications Ltd. p. 20.

¹⁸ Seven Reasons Why the *Times* is a Pleasure to Read. [Hilary Gelson, Suzy Menkes, Valerie Knox, Prudence Glynn, Jeanette Collins, Sue Puddefoot, Patricia de Joux]. (1967). *Sunday Times*. 9 April. Magazine. p. 46. And The *Times* is a Pleasure to Read because it's a Pleasure to Write. (1967). *Sunday Times*. 9 April. Magazine. p. 47 - 48.

women were deliberately posed. The distinction between the importance and means of their roles was unquestionably visually presented for the reader.

Journalism has historically developed into a powerful institution because of its role as the 'voice of the people' speaking for all 'mankind'. But it did not represent the whole of the people, rather than being 'universal', it was in fact just 'men's values'.¹⁹ The Prince of Wales, demonstrates the significance of a free press in a speech he gave as patron of the Press Club, in its Centenary year celebrations, emphasising the importance of free society. He contended that the country relied on a free press that was 'constantly aware of its vital, responsible and extraordinary powerful voice'.²⁰ Surely, part of this responsibility was to see that all areas of society were represented. The exclusion of the female from the 'voice of the people' has left a massive void, in its ability to communicate and has meant that it did not represent the whole human experience of sport, and specifically in sports writing, it has continued to reflect the ideological constructions of its subject matter.²¹ Their exclusion was based on the belief that a female commentating in a 'masculine' domain would challenge the image of the male as the 'natural' expert in the sporting arena and represent a 'threat to the existing power relations between the sexes by challenging the hegemonic notions of femininity and the female frailty myth'.²² Hargreaves argues in *Sport, Power and Culture* (1986) that the way gender is constructed in the sports media is reproductive of the patterns of 'male hegemony' and continuing women's relegation to passive and unequal roles.²³ Through these processes the established sports pages appear to reproduce the 'natural' organisation of men and women and make it difficult for women to take on an authoritative role.

¹⁹ Whelehan, I. (1995). *Modern Feminist Thought: From Second Wave to 'Post-Feminism'*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. p. 9.

²⁰ Ewart, A. and Leonard, V. (1982). *100 Years of Fleet Street. As seen through the Eyes of the Press Club*. (Published on behalf of the Press Club). London: Brant Wright Associates. p. 1.

²¹ Rowe, D. (1991). The Misery of Stringer and Clichés of Sportswriting. *Cultural Studies*. 5, 1. 77 - 90. p. 84.

²² Lensky, H. (1992). Whose sport? Whose traditions? Canadian women and sport in the Twentieth Century. *The international Journal of the History of Sport*. April. vol. 9. 142 - 150. p. 141.

²³ Hargreaves, John. (1986). *Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain*. Cambridge: Polity. p.153.

When studying the British press it soon becomes apparent that the same names have dominated press writing and reporting for the past 20, 30 or even 40 years. These men, as competent as they may be in their jobs, have been recognised as the dominant views and opinions of the sports media. They have chosen the coverage, identified the stories and offered to the reader their interpretation of what is good and bad about sport. This deficiency in sports writing is a criticism that was even recognised by the men who contribute to the sports pages. Brian Glanville argued in two separate articles, 'Looking for an Idiom' (1965) and 'Still Looking for an Idiom' (1995) that sports writing failed to operate as an 'idiom', a language of the people.²⁴ His argument was based on the claim that highbrow middle-class sports writing ignored the needs of the traditional working class fan, but although it was not his intent, he highlighted an exclusivity which could be applied to gender.

For women sports writers this gendered image is further restrictive because of the gender concept in sport. DeBeauvoir's conceptualisation of gender distinctions places the female as the Other and therefore the inferior to the male Absolute power and strength. In this way the biological sex differences have been manipulated to define what is merely a cultural acceptability of female sporting capabilities. This becomes a powerful argument against the power of sports women because it is based on the indisputable biological aspects of human beings, rather than identified as issues created through cultural devices. The fact of undeniable biological difference is transferred onto the culturally ascribed characteristics of 'masculinity' and 'femininity' have become interchangeable with 'male' and 'female'. Creedon defines this difference describing 'sex as a culturally constructed biological characteristic and *gender* [sic] as an ongoing process that constructs differences between men and women.'²⁵ This is a dilemma for women in sport that feminist research has identified this as the key restricting element for women. Theberge argues in her article "Toward a Feminist Alternative of Sport as a Male Preserve" (1983) that the focus on biological difference becomes the defining aspect in sport and in turn naturalises the 'social inferiority of women'.²⁶ Sport has

²⁴ Glanville, B. (1965). Looking for an Idiom. *Encounter*. 25. July. 84 - 88. p. 84.

²⁵ Creedon, P. (1994). *Women, Media and Sport. Challenging Gender Values*. London: Sage. p. 3.

²⁶ Theberge, N. (1983). Toward a Feminist Alternative of Sport as a Male Preserve. *Quest*. 37, pp. 193-202.

become a place where physical prowess can be demonstrated and can confirm 'masculinity' as strength and 'femininity' as weakness. It is further argued by McKay in "Anchoring Media Images of Technology and Sport" (1982) that this construction has become so important because the twentieth century was a period where 'physical strength' was 'no longer a necessity for daily living' and in its place 'sport has taken on a symbolic significance'.²⁷ 'Male' and 'female' only take on meaning when considered in opposition.²⁸ Wenner argues in *Media, Sports and Society; Foundation for the Communication of Sport* (1988) that this conviction to focus on 'masculinity' creates a situation where it becomes the 'norm' for males to show an interest in and identify with sports and hence it becomes unacceptable for women to do the same because they would be crossing the boundaries of 'femininity'.²⁹ Women entering the sports writing profession threatened to destabilise the male 'norm' and their own identity as women.

From the earliest part of the century these writers were labelled with the title 'the woman correspondent', which separated them solely because of their gender.³⁰ Newspapers also illustrate this in their use of 'women's' golf or 'the women's page', where the sex of the subject or writer was clearly determined as a significant format of classification. Such a form of labelling categorises them as 'other' to the male 'norm' of simply - 'Golf'. Welch argued that this was why she had to face disbelief that women can write on 'male' sports like football. Another sports writer, Sue Mott, also claimed that of all the ascribed differences of gender to sport, this belief that the 'feminine' mind is 'congenitally incapable of understanding sport' was the key to the relegation of women sports writers.³¹ She believed that no matter how successful women have become in sport they 'will be deemed poor, fluff-brained specimens

²⁷ McKay, J. (1992). Anchoring Media Images of Technology and Sport. *Women's Studies International Forum*. 15, 2. 205 - 218. p. 207.

²⁸ Park, R. (1987). Sport, Gender and Society in a Transatlantic Victorian Perspective. In Mangan, J and Park, R. (Eds). *From 'fair sex' to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Pre-Industrial Eras*. London: Frank Cass and Company Limited. p. 58.

²⁹ Wenner, L. (1989). *Media, Sports and Society; Foundation for the Communication of Sport*. London: Sage. p. 282.

³⁰ Clarke, T. (1922). Women in Journalism. In Bromely, M. and O'Malley, T. (1997). *A Journalism Reader*. London: Routledge. p. 117.

³¹ Mott, S. (1996). *A Girl's Guide to Ball Games. What Men Need to Know*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing. p. 10.

born to Asda not the Arsenal'.³² Although the meanings of 'femininity' may have shifted during this time, it was never with enough significance to effect a transformation in attitudes. The belief that only the male is inherently qualified to write on sport, is the presumption which relegates women to the status of Other in sports writing. This is the key issue of gender that forms the basis of the issues faced in the historical development of women sports writers throughout the thesis.

However in a feminist review one of the main difficulties to identify in discussing this subject areas is that the language used in sports writing remains gendered. The fact that the experience of 'woman' as 'other' can only be understood in comparison to the definition of 'man', means discussion is always problematic.³³ The accepted use of terms to describe the intricacies of gender difference - 'femininity' and 'masculinity' - are used to describe the effects of cultural and social norms and the use of 'male' and 'female' represent sexual difference at its most basic. These terms are necessary tools to communicate the components of gender difference.³⁴ The need to continue the separation of sexes, in order to undermine it, is a common problem associated to research which is undertaken within a feminist framework. The very function of dividing genders for the purposes of debate still faces the problem that detaching them upholds the very same gender distinctions the research is aiming to break down. The differences that will be addressed between men and women sportswriters, are based on the method of their socialisation in relationship to sport and gender and not because of any inherent 'feminine' traits.

The final issue with the terminology used in the course of this project is regarding the theme and content of the writing and the notion of what is 'sport'. The use of the word 'sport' can not be removed from the focus on the masculine ideals of the 'physical' which dominates its meaning. The fabrication of the 'sporting' image as 'male', will always exclude women whenever 'sport' is used, but still it must be applied because it is important to denote the

³² Mott, S. (1996). *A Girl's Guide to Ball Games..* p.10.

³³ Whelehan, I. *Modern Feminist Thought.* p. 10.

³⁴ Moi, T. (1994). *Sexual Textual Politics: Feminist Literary Theory.* London: Routledge. p. 65.

subject matter of the writing in focus as a specialism. The term 'woman sports writer' is used to indicate those who wrote in many styles and on a wide variety of sports, as seen in Table 1 and Appendices 8.4.1, 8.4.3 and 8.5.1 - 8.5.3. Although the use of a word which is so heavily loaded with 'masculine' connotations cannot be avoided, instead it will its meaning will be exposed and potentially redefined.

Research Methods and Sources:

The research methods chosen for this study were a combination of content and textual analysis. Therefore the sources selected were chosen for their potential ability to find evidence of women sports writers and identify, so that the analysis of their actual written work would be possible. As discussed in the Introduction the search for secondary sources revealed that while the history of journalism has been comprehensively researched and written about, it had not included women as part of the story.³⁵ In addition, no records of personal or professional data were available through newspaper offices, some of which have now ceased publication and union records claimed to have no specific references to cases of women sports writers.³⁶ As a result there remained three main areas where potential information could be sought. The first was from associated organisations, which may have provided support for them in their careers. The second was to examine the historical output of their work. By taking the investigation back to other sources and asking: Who were these women writing on sport? What sports were they writing on? And where were they writing, in newspapers, journals, books or other periodicals? Their writing operates as a physical sign of their work and holds the potential to reveal information about their success in the profession. Finally, the third prospect was to speak to the women themselves and gain their own personal view. This combination of data from support organisations, the documentation of their writing and the women's testimonials, is the foundation for much of the research in this thesis.

³⁵ The British Humanities Index on CD Rom and catalogues at The British Library, St Brides Printing library, The Sports Council, British Olympic Association and local libraries at Brentwood and Chelmsford were utilised.

³⁶ Research later uncovered through questionnaires to women that many did not join unions see graph in Appendix 5.11.

When deciding who to contact as possible archive sources, the research had to contend with the reality that as women were missing from the customary area of information, the search would need to take into account the scarcity of material and be as wide as possible. Around 100 organisations and individuals were contacted for help and advice on areas to search for potential archives. Appendix 1 'List of Contacts and Organisations' details those contacted - excluding those women journalists who were contacted by questionnaire (Appendix 6.1). Only the Association of Golf Writers (AGW), the British Olympic Association (BOA), the Chartered Institute of Journalists (CIJ), National Council for the Training of Journalists (NCTJ) were able to provide any archive or additional information. The AGW provided copies from a selection of minutes (Appendix 2.1 and 2.2) where incidents with women members had occurred and lists of others to contact for further information. The BOA initially responded that they were unable to supply records of the journalists who had attended previous to 1996, despite being the organisation responsible for the accreditation of procedures for journalists. However it did keep a collection of the reports, which were produced by each host country after the games, that usually included a section on the media. It was from this information that some insight was obtained into the accreditation procedures and the attending journalists (See Tables 6 and 7.). The CIJ's archive collection (a complete set of the *Grey Book* from 1907 onwards to miscellaneous minute books and conference papers from 1916 onwards) did not refer to any specific information on women sports writers, but there was reference to the profession and its separate relationships with both women and sport.³⁷ These were a good source of material and where records allowed, they provided data to consider the actual presence of women as registered members, including the area of work where they were employed, as shown in the Appendix 5.1. 'Roles of Women Employed in Journalism 1938' and 5.2 'Break Down of Gender in the Institute of Journalists 1938'. Similarly, the NCTJ did not have any specific information on the training or numbers of women sports writers, but they were useful in learning how sports writers have typically received their training. In comparison to the American situation where sport is a separate area for education, British students have been traditionally trained as journalists first and in

³⁷ The *Grey Book's* were an early tool of the union, often published annually as a registers of membership, rules and other housekeeping details such as committee members and in some years provide lists and supplementary information on the individual members.

sports second, after they have gained employment on a paper. This method of instruction has obvious consequences for the interpretation of professionalism in each country and for those who have traditionally been excluded from employment in journalism.

Other organisations were unable to help either because they had not come into contact with any women sports writers, their remit did not extend to their issues or they were unaware of the information they did hold. For example, both the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedoms and the Press Complaints Commission stated that the issues for women sports writers were not part of their remit. The aim of the Campaign for the Press and Broadcasting Freedoms is to examine discrimination against and representation of minorities in the media, but it replied it had no relevant information because they had a deficiency of resources to allow them to focus on the 'women's concerns'. While the Press Complaints Commission advised that their role was to investigate complaints against newspapers and not objections from journalists on their individual treatment. While Women in Journalism had created a valuable data base on the oral history of American Journalists, it contained limited information on sports writing and the experiences recorded a different culture and sociology of a profession than in England. Their work was useful for comparative reasons and research methods, but as discussed in Chapter Two the evolution of the profession for women in England was different because of training methods and the general format of the profession. The difficulty with the Society of Women Writers and Journalists (SWJ) was that they were unaware of their own archive sources. They stated that no members wrote on sport at present and they had no formal records to see if they did so in the past. However archives found in the British Library contradicted this advice and a collection of papers were found which gave valuable insight into the early professional organisation of women in journalism. Similarly the Sports Writers Association of Great Britain (SWA) were another small and informal union who were not sure what information was available, but they were helpful in allowing an advertisement for information to be included in their newsletter. The problem with the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) was the opposite, that as a large union it was difficult to get a response that was not a standard reply. The archives held at Warwick University advised they did not contain any historical data about women writing on sport and

only a few references to women in journalism explaining that the primary purpose of this archive was to record the development of a trade union. However additional documentation from other sources was found which covered discussion on the employment of women journalists and gender issues (See Appendix 3.1 and Appendix 3.2 both specifically refer to the 'Sex Question' of women and pay between the NUJ and NPA) .

In addition to the above organisations newspapers were contacted with requests for information on women who may have worked for them and the accreditation records of those writers sent abroad to sporting events. Requests for information were sent to the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Mirror*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily Express*, the *Guardian*, the *Independent*, the *Observer*, the *Sun*, the *Sunday Times*, and the *Times*. Responses ranged from statements that their resources were reserved for their own use (*Daily Mirror*, *Sun*) to the fact that they receive so many requests for information that they were unable to spend the time answering them (*Daily Express*). The conclusion was that material which could possibly be available was closed to outsiders.

Yet, despite my original dismay at the abundance of negative responses received, on further investigation it became clear that the replies which seemed negative and worthless at first glance, soon began to reveal a pattern. They served to rouse the question -what was the basis for this lack of information and unresponsive attitude? This led to the beginnings of the realisation that when women were camouflaged in the profession, it would spread and contaminate all surrounding areas and organisations. It was possible these organisations were also tainted by the same ideologies which restricted women in the profession, that they were either not aware of the information they contained because the women were relegated in terms of importance, or as professional 'outsiders' women may not have had access and not been recorded by the organisation. Therefore in the course of undertaking this research it would be necessary to re-examine the professional archives and find information that may have been given 'incidentally' and not considered of value. The fact that the responses received a better reception on the second and the third time of enquiry - and in some instances where the words 'female' or 'women' were removed and a more general inquiry

was made - demonstrated how they were still viewed as 'unimportant' or 'inessential' in the organisation of some departments or in some instances, how organisations were afraid their treatment of women would not withstand a 'feminist' evaluation and therefore did not allow one. The Chartered Institute of Journalists twice responded that they had no relevant records, but on the third time of asking - with the word 'women' removed - I was granted permission to examine their archives. Another example was the National Union of Journalists who advised they had no records of women's issues in sports writing, this was aside from later finding out that one of the women interviewed for this thesis had sought their help to fight a discrimination case. This indicates just how hidden women were.

The problems detailed above meant a periodical search to collate women's sports writing as a unified body of work became the primary source of information. In order to produce a collection of their work a systematic examination of the print media was required. This was not possible through newspaper indexes, because aside from the *Times*, they were not available for the majority of papers and written requests for access to in-house indexing systems were refused. One indexing system which was available at The British Newspaper Library was the *Subject Index to Periodicals*. (from 1962 known first as *The British Humanities Index*). This index provided the data to form a collection of 199 articles by 128 different writers from 1935 to 1992 written in newspapers, magazines and journals, and listed in areas, and in later years, by author, from 1972 (with the exception of 1991). Appendix 8.1 - 8.5 and Tables 11 - 13 are a summary of the periodicals used and information found. The time period chosen for study was determined by the catalogues available, of which the earliest was 1914. Each year was reviewed until 1992. This year was chosen as the cut off date to coincide with an Olympic year, when sports reporting is increased. It was also chosen as it was felt a gap was necessary for practical period of reflection from when this research project began in 1996. However a two year period in the 1990s is included for comparison because of its key relevance in the history of women sports writers as the time when women in the sports media in general became more visible.³⁸ The benefits of this search, was that

³⁸ In survey by Lopez for *Women on the Ball: A Guide to Women's Football* in 1996 she notes that of 63 national and regional newspapers there were now 20 full-time women working as sports reporters.

although it was not a scientific search of every sports article written by women, it did identify a selection of sports writing by women. This offered the opportunity to look at the general developments and trends in the writings of women about sport. However as the articles identified here are ones that relied on the subjective decisions of the collators the Index its limitations as a complete body of work are taken into account. But as it allow the beginning of an opportunity to document the increased visibility of women sports writers it remains a valuable tool.

There were certain factors of this periodical search that had to be defined and quantified, in order to become aware of its benefits and limitations. The first issue to recognise was the fact that the indexes did not include all newspapers and periodicals published in any year. The information they contained was restricted to a selection of journals, tabloids were not included and for this reason are not represented in this part of the study. The choice of which articles to include and how they were categorised was dependent on the preconceptions of the indexers' and their view of 'importance', which would be vulnerable to sociological conditions. For this reason the key words used in the search procedure had to be aware of such conditions and be linguistically flexible with the base of terms used. The choice of words took into account the changes in historical references of 'sport', 'women' and 'writing' and how they were defined. Therefore the terms selected incorporated both 'games' and 'sport', as 'games' was the early reference used in classification and use of the word 'sports' developed later as competition became more serious. The other words used were 'athletics', 'cricket', 'football', 'rugby', 'tennis', 'golf', because they were the main sporting activities in English society, while 'journalism', 'newspaper', 'press', 'writer', 'media' were used to cover the professional side of the search. In the early part of the century there were few references in the indexes to sport or women's issues, as illustrated in Bibliography 1.1: The Periodical Search, where the references are broken down by year and suggests that the amount of articles found did not increase until the 1970s. By this time the key words 'football' and 'women' became the most substantial listings, as football became the nation's favourite sport, hyped up with the success of the 1966 World Cup and the women's movement gained a greater voice in general society. This shows how the indexes reflected the trends in society.

However there were limitations in the index's ability to reveal sports writing by women, because they could only be recognised in this search by articles which were signed. This was a problem for women, as illustrated by the discussions on the subject in the Tenth Annual Report 1903-4 of the Society of Women Journalists, which states it was common for women to use male pseudonyms. The report gave one example by the President, Mrs Craigie who wrote as John Oliver Hobbes.³⁹ This problem was combined with the fact that, in journalism at this time it was standard practice for articles to be unsigned or used nom de plumes. For example most of the articles in *The Referee* were unsigned or used nicknames like "Pharamond", "Puritanicus".⁴⁰ This was not a trend specific to women but it did mean that classification in this manner for articles around this time would be unable to provide clues to the gender of the journalist. Hollingworth, a female war reporter, notes in her biography that at the time of W.W.II there were no by-lines in 'quality' newspapers.⁴¹ Therefore the all the data provided in the index had to be confirmed and a hard copy analysed before it was included in the collection to be studied. In addition, the whole edition containing the reference was studied to see how sport in general was treated in the newspapers to give a more complete view of the structure of its format.

The examination of the final collection of 199 articles offered material for individual, as well as consolidated evaluation. Articles were first considered by the periodical which contained them (see Appendix 8.1 and Tables 12 and 13). Then the content analysis produced the number of sports articles gathered and the breakdown in gender of the sport covered (Appendix 8.2), their location, inside or outside the sports pages to see how their writings were categorised (Table 11). The style of the writing was studied both as an overall group (Table 1), by gender break down (Appendix 8.3.1) and by decades (Appendix 8.3.2). It also produced evidence to those sports which women covered. The investigation of the sports recorded, also looks at which of the 'traditional'(masculine), 'non-traditional' (feminine) and 'sporting issues' they did cover. The first section of these subject areas was first examined by decade. (Appendix 8.4.1 - 8.4.3). The second section looked at the same areas, but

³⁹ (1903 - 4). *Tenth Annual Report of The Society of Women Journalists*.

⁴⁰ (1923). *The Referee*.

⁴¹ Hollingworth, C. (1990). *Front Line*. London: Johnathon Cape. p. 14.

broken down by the gender of the sports covered in the articles (Appendix 8.5.1 - 8.5.3). Additional clarification is also necessary regarding how the gender analysis of the evidence was undertaken. In the instances where the graphs were looking at the style of the sports articles written, the gender factor is based on the sex of the person in focus. (Appendix 8.3.1 - 8.3.2), while the sex break down of the sports themselves was included in the type of sports covered (Appendix 8.4.1- 8.4.3 and 8.5.1 - 8.5.3).

In order to consider the content and style of the collection, each article had to be examined and categorised. Articles were defined by gender of the sport or topic, whether it was 'inside' or 'outside' the sports section, and by style; 'human interest', 'personal life', 'conflict', 'profile', 'columns/comments,' 'match reports', 'informative', 'pre-match/events' and 'inside story'.⁴² Although the categories have been defined and detailed as separate as possible, because of the complex nature of some of the articles, when the subject area covered two categories it was placed in the area based on the dominant style of the article. Of course the arrangement of the material will be subjective in parts: it cannot be avoided in this type of interpretative sociological research. While the categorisation of 'male' and 'female' may be obvious, as the gender of the sport or topic in profile was an indisputable fact, however 'mixed sex' was used when the article included reference to both sexes or related to a general sporting issue which affected all sports people. The location of the article as 'inside' or 'outside' the sports section, was crucial to understanding how women's work was treated by the profession. The definition of 'inside', refers to those articles which were found within the areas of the designated sports section and labelled as such, or even those which were informally grouped together as sports. The classification of 'outside' refers to writing not in the area defined above, but those which were on 'sports', yet not in the 'sports' section, or the

⁴² 'Human Interest' was defined as a philanthropic interest with a charitable tone. The aim is to warm the heart of the reader to an issue that is related to sports. 'Personal Life' the life of a sports person outside of their sporting life. 'Conflict' was based on an issues raised, disputed or debated either within a sport or individual person regarding their chosen sport. 'Columns/Comment' was either personally written columns or individual articles where personal views dominated. 'Match Report' was the review of a match or event after the fact including statistical records and results. 'Informative' provided factual information on an individual sport issue or subject. 'Pre-Match/Event Build-Up' detailed the team news, facts or issues with an impact on the event ahead. Finally, 'Inside Story' was a behind the scene exposé into a person or sport which was more exposé, than informative.

area generally reserved for sports. An article situated 'inside' the 'sports section' demonstrated the work was accepted as a valid piece of sports writing. When an article was put 'outside', it raised the question of why? The placement of work 'outside' the sports section included newspaper supplements, but not journal articles which are given their own category of 'journals' because of the specific concerns in these publications. However, the distinction between newspapers and journals was an important factor in showing where women were getting their work published.

Although the writing not published and the writers who struggled for a career and failed can not be studied, it is possible to identify issues in the work that was discovered.⁴³ From the information available it is also viable to study the language and terminology, trends and development, trace the factors that may have led to changes and gauge attitudes towards women in all aspects of sport. It would reveal the types of sports covered, the variety of angles taken, the pictures used, the way they were described, the writers and how they were by-lined. This analysis gave clues to the underlying codes of their employment and the attitudes held towards women. The systematic content analysis of the newspaper sports articles gave the opportunity to a review not only the frequency and placement of their work, but also a way to study the female sporting voice in a literary manner. By examining the articles in the same way a literary critic would consider a text looking at the style, tone and language of their writing the articles provide a unique revelation of their writing, aside from how it was seen and valued in the traditional context of newspapers. The benefit of a textual analysis is that it helps to show how the contributions of women are categorised in the newspaper based on the content and issues they address for the reader.

Further periodical material was chosen for examination because of its known use of women writers. Where the periodical index search had largely ignored women at periods when they were known to be contributing valuable work, this review of individually selected publications aimed to address these omissions. The *Observer* was identified as the key newspaper

⁴³ Steiner, L. (1997). Gender at Work: Early Accounts by Women Journalists. *Journalism History*, 23, 1. p. 3.

because of its known commitment to employing women and presenting their work equally. It was also selected because of its relevance to the career of Julie Welch, one of the most significant women writing on sport. It promoted Welch as a full and equal football reporter with her male colleagues in the pages of its sports section, along with others like Joanna Kilmartin. A more complete review of how the *Observer* positioned their writing in comparison to the findings of the periodicals index search allowed for a more comprehensive study of the treatment of gender and its effects.

The policy of the *Observer* towards women and sport over the century was an interesting case study. Where the periodical indexes revealed a collection of writing by women largely outside the sports section and often relegated to a 'women's page', it was imperative to study a newspaper where they were not so easily dismissed. As a Sunday newspaper where women had become so famously visible by the 1970s, it allowed the opportunity to see what factors may have facilitated the promotion of the female voice. A search of the newspapers, on the same basis of categorisation as the periodical index search, allowed a comparative analysis to be undertaken. The study was formed on the basis of two editions per year. This was done to try and explore newspapers looking at different seasons of sporting pursuits. A summary of the information collated follows the same format of categorisation as the periodical search above and is presented in Appendix 7.1 - 7.4 and Tables 2 and 5 showing which sports were covered (Appendix 7.1, 7.4 and Table 2), how the proportion of sports news compared to that of general news (Table 5) and the style of sports articles, which formed the categories for use in the periodical search (Appendix 7.2 and 8.3). This material allowed comparison with how the coverage of sports in general has developed to contribute further to the picture of women's place within it. Although the findings of the *Observer* search cannot be used as fully representative of the wide diversity of newspapers in the print media, it can be applied as a tool for comparison with the trends identified in the periodical search.

Specific sporting journals were chosen for a full and comprehensive analysis they wholly reserved for the interests of women and sport, and enable comparison with the issues and

themes revealed in the periodical search. Particularly in the first half of the century, women's sporting journals, such as *Eve*, and *The Ladies Field*, were proud of their association to women's sporting events and supported them by sponsoring golf foursomes around the 1920s, such as; *The Ladies Field's* 'Victory Foursomes at Ranelagh, Birkdale and Starbeck'.⁴⁴ They were publications with a dedicated interest and financial means not only to cover women's sport, but also to take an active role in its promotion as well. Journals, like *Women's Cricket* and *Women's Hockey* by Majorie Pollard were analysed along with her series of articles in *Girl's Own Paper* because she built a career as a sports woman and journalist.⁴⁵ In addition several registration editions of less established journals were reviewed, because this was where the editorial policy and aims of the journal were usually set out. For example, there was an abundance of journals, titled 'the sportswoman' which were chosen because they represented a place where women had already been accepted as sporting figures and logic suggested that these were areas where women would likely be writers. (see Bibliography: Primary Sources - 1.5 Journals). In other Instances, publications such as *The Football Special* and *The Referee* were examined because IOJ records had revealed names of women journalists working on those papers. *The Football Special*, in particular was chosen because it contained a column 'Football Girl' on women's football which was written by a woman. All furnished evidence not only of a general sporting interest by women, but a venue for them to exercise those interests. Studying these examples was an opportunity to see the diversity of meaning that could be interpreted in these words and the different way sport was of value and interest in women's lives. They were also fundamental in seeing how the women used their sporting voice to speak in a publication that was not faced with the same restrictions as the mainstream newspaper sections.

⁴⁴ Helme, E.E. (1931). *After the Ball - Merry Memories of a Golfer: Being the Story of Forty-Six Championships and Other Golfing Occasions Pursued with Clubs, Notebooks and Pencil*. London: Hurst & Blackett. p. 202.

⁴⁵ Despite her dedication Pollard's editorial notes show how hard it was for her and the monetary pitfalls she encountered. She notes in May 1935 that she was worried because the circulation "has not increased as it should. On circulation the paper is absolutely dependent" and she asks the reader to interest more subscribers hence the way she hoped- but she keeps it going for years. (1935). *Women's Cricket*. May. 1. p. 1.

A selection of over 50 sports books written by women, both as journalists and ex-professional athletes, were also studied in conjunction with the names uncovered during the periodical search, as well as those by sports women who later became journalists. (See Bibliography: 1.2 Sports Books by Women Analysed). The goal was to see if any of the women writing on sport in newspapers and journals, continued their area of interest in this format. These books were published between 1911 to 1999. The introductions, forewords and, where available, front and back covers and inside flaps, was one of the most interesting areas of information. The 'blurbs' served in many ways to advertise the style and content, as well as to celebrate the credibility of the author.⁴⁶ These sections often held the author's claims of intent in writing the text and the reasons they did so, which were crucial in identifying their goals as individuals, as well as a group. The texts were examined for the type of sport covered, the authority and qualification of the authors voice and the styles of writing from autobiography to 'inside story'. By analysing the books with the same category base as the other search areas, the themes and issues prevalent in each could be compared. The books were examples of their writing where for the first time the thoughts of the author could be considered. The author comments gave the opportunity to see their goals and aims, which were invaluable in analysing the important issues. The analysis of such journals and books, in conjunction with the full study of the *Observer*, built a portrait of areas where women were as successful writers.

While studying the evidence of their writing in newspapers, journals and book was important, they did not offer much insight into understanding who the women were or their views of the hardships, discriminations and prejudices they faced. Therefore questionnaires were used to supplement this information. Van Zoonen argues the benefits of qualitative research methods like questionnaires and interviews "are the most adequate to gain insight into the meanings of everyday life".⁴⁷ The data of their first-hand experiences and individual interpretations of the profession help to bring to life the issues which appeared in the analysis

⁴⁶ This type of information was not always obtainable. Unfortunately, it is often contained on the paper coverings which are not always saved when texts are stored in libraries. As such the 'blurbs', rich in information often contained on the back cover, designed to entice the reader and capture the spirit of the book, were frequently lost.

of their work. The women completing the questionnaire were primarily those visible within the last thirty years, though some journalists from earlier periods have been traced.⁴⁸ The names uncovered in the subject periodical search were a starting point and these women were sent questionnaires. The 128 women found in the periodical search were sought through the newspaper or journal they were listed under. Letters were sent to their last known papers for those who were listed in the post 1985 era, but because of the employment patterns of journalists, who are highly mobile and often employed on a freelance basis, keeping track of them was difficult. In total 45 women were sent questions and 25 responses were received, with 19 used in the compilation of results. There were various reasons for the six unusable, 2 were in the broadcast media and had not the experience of print media. Others were untraceable women that newspapers responded for, but had no new details of them, with the exception of one who had died. Two experienced journalists, Kahn and Welch, declined to complete the questionnaire, but offered personal interviews instead. The results of the questionnaires have a heavier balance towards women who wrote on golf. This is largely because of the helpful nature of the GWA in providing current addresses and also because golf was a sport where they at least found success in covering women's events.

Women were asked questions surrounding their professional working lives, views on the professional status and their sporting /personal/professional backgrounds to analyse how changes in their working lives, training background and approach to the job have developed. As discussed in Chapters Two and Three the results gave the opportunity to understand their role in a way that the traditional sources did not allow. Both Chapters benefited from the unexpected information the questionnaires produced. For example in Chapter Two considers their place in the profession. However the original examination of union archives and responses received from associated organisations for this thesis had led to the assumption

⁴⁷ Zoonen van, L. (1994). *Feminist Media Studies*. London: Sage. p. 135.

⁴⁸ Summary of questionnaire responses is in Appendix 6.1- 6.5 and Tables 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 14 & 15. It is also interesting to note that this concentration of post 1970 examples coincided with the results of the periodical search (see bibliography Primary Sources periodical search year breakdown) was when women began to make a visible impact in the subject periodical indexed.

that women sports journalists were ignored by such organisations, yet the responses questionnaires showed that this was not always the case. In fact the responses showed that most women surveyed had not joined the unions said to be available to them. This affected the research procedures with regard to the manner in which the union archives were re-analysed. In addition, their response to the question of sexism illustrated how diverse personal opinions could be in such a complex subjective area. In Chapter Three the examination of the wide variety of responses the questionnaire supplied not only the crucial personal experience and opinions to the systematic review of the content of their work, but it more importantly it served as a tool to ensure the difference between individual experiences and group trends.

The process of establishing a methodology suitable to uncover the development of women as sports writers has been a difficult task. There has been disappointment at the insufficient references to their evolution in both secondary and primary sources. However, perseverance and a re-examination of the facts as they first appeared were crucial to the success of the research. While finding the hidden voice of women was never going to be easy, it became possible by utilising a feminist framework and expanding the search for information. In areas where the social records have disregarded the contribution of women, the longer time goes on the more difficult the gaps are to fill, particularly from journalists long gone with no biographical record. What is left to work with are examples of their work, brief references to their existence in the history books, and factual evidence of their works and in some instances their experiences in organisations like trade unions. When examined carefully all these resources have had much to tell about women sports writers. By re-confirming their roles as sports writers historically, it is then possible to begin to question the relationship of sport and the print media as a 'naturally' masculine domain. This evidence will provide new understanding as to why women were excluded from the profession or made invisible within it and how this relegation has been based on the substantiation of gender myths, and not ability. In addition, to some small extent while uncovering the role, and development of the careers of women writing on sport, an understanding of the development of the sports pages themselves will also become more apparent.

CHAPTER TWO:

INVISIBLE WOMEN: THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN SPORTS WRITERS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

Ten years ago the ordinary male journalist and the narrow-minded editor did not recognise women as capable of writing even on their sister sportswomen's achievement, nor did they really consider these achievements worthy of the shortest 'par'. Take any weekly paper of somewhere about the year 1900, and you will not fail to identify the scant descriptions of even the most important events in women's sportsmanship as obviously emanating from the pen of man. Turn to the same publication in the current year. More than half the pages -advertisement, leaders, illustrations, reports - relate to women's sport. The proprietors quite realise that it is necessary to devote this space in order to retain the popularity of the publication and to make it pay. So specialists are engaged to contribute. Not only does this apply to weekly papers but the big diaries now-a-days have their regular women contributors on sports. (1913)

When this article was written in 1913 it was clear that the author Miss Stringer, editor of *Ladies Golf* and one of the pioneers of sports journalism for women, believed that women had made the fundamental break through in the profession. Discovering this article was the first significant find of this study, because it not only proved the existence of women in sports writing, but also implied that they had found a place in the industry. However, the initial optimism in finding confirmation of women on the sports pages, was tempered by the fact that their names were not evident in the newspaper archive searches conducted for this project. How then was it possible to uncover the historical development of women sports writers? Why was the 1990s later hailed the time when women had finally become recognised as sports writers, when this had been claimed to have occurred so many decades earlier? What had happen to halt the early progress?

Piecing together information from the records available it is possible to see what caused Stringers early optimism. How these factors were affected or changed to alter her account and finally how women made their way in the profession regardless, can be analysed in conjunction with developments in the industry itself and women's visibility within it. In order to understand the foundations of Stringer's confidence it is necessary to look at what was happening in society, sport and the industry of journalism. She was writing this article on the

¹ M.E.S. (1913). Women as Sports Journalists. *The Woman Journalist*. 18. p. 3. (initials only given for the author)

back of the combination of the 'first wave' of feminism and the fight of the 'suffragettes'. This saw the emergence of the 'new woman' who sought to be more independent and earn her own money, to escape from the confines of the home.² The new spirit gave women renewed drive and confidence to move into areas of employment like journalism. For example Ishbel Ross, argued women were beginning to gain employment in general, but that it was the arrival of the suffragette movement which carried them along, 'lifting them unconsciously on the wings of their own ardent efforts to get the vote'.³ By achieving their aim to locate women within the public sphere of politics, the suffragists gave other women the hope of further 'future reform in the most inequitable aspects of social life' and helped them to question repression in other parts of their lives.⁴ It was this sentiment which inspired the 'new women' to leave the private sphere and lay claim to the public sphere and nothing could be more public than gaining entrance to a newspaper - the 'voice of the people'. In fact the demand for women's rights was also argued in Spinx, *Journalism as a Career for Women*, (1918) as giving women the perfect opportunity in this period, because as writers and women they were the most qualified people to write on the questions being raised by the women's movement. The author follows the same argument as Stringer by stating 'all this will have to be voiced and analysed in the press, and who more capable than women to do this?'.⁵ McCrane argues that there was a dual effect, in the emergence of the female voice for women and sport stating that although 'feminists did not organise to fight directly for women's sporting rights' it actually became an important contribution to freeing women from the ideals of femininity, altering their image in society in both sport and the press.⁶

In addition journalism was beginning to seem a suitable profession for middle-class educated women. The Society of Women Journalists (SWJ) had formed years earlier, in 1894, for suitably 'qualified women writers' - those who were employed by publications and made their

² Holland, P. The Politics of the Smile. In Carter, C, et al. (Eds.). (1998). *News, Gender and Power*. London: Routledge. p. 20.

³ Ross, I. (1936). *Ladies of the Press: The Story of Women in Journalism by an Insider*. London: Harper & Brothers Publishers. p. 23

⁴ Whelehan, I. (1995). *Modern Feminist Thought*. p. 3.

⁵ Sphinx, A. (pseud). (1918). *Journalism as a Career for Women*. p. 8.

⁶ McCrane, K. (1988). *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women 1870 - 1914*. London: Routledge. p.276.

living at journalism.⁷ Records show that its membership gradually rose from 146 in 1901-2, to 287 in 1906-7, and 307 in 1909-10.⁸ Books, such as Francis Low's, *Press Work for Women* (1904) challenged women to consider how journalism would allow them to express their voice and look beyond careers in 'teaching' as the main suitable 'feminine' profession.⁹ He believed women could find equality in journalism and wrote in the SWJ 16th Annual Report (1909/10) that it now had 'no distinctions, and it was one of the few professions in which economic and fiscal equality prevailed between the sexes'.¹⁰ His enthusiasm for the profession was echoed in advertisements in women's journals, such as those for the 'School of Journalism, Art and Secretarial, Training for Women' which recommended itself as suitable for 'any girl who has a good education and a fair amount of brains, and does not know what to use to turn them'.¹¹ Journalism as a career was certainly being suggested to middle class women with the education and money to enter it.

Further to its recommendation as a career for women, technological advances and a stylistic evolution in the popular press, led to changes in newspapers, significantly the desire to present a more diverse style and attract a wider audience. 'A more dramatic presentation of news and more lively displays were to be part of the fleet street revolution which became known as New Journalism'.¹² W. T. Stead is credited with inspiring this revolution in his time as Editor of the *Morning Post*, because his use of illustrations and photographs made the layout more attractive and he altered the format stylistically with his pioneering use of the interview. There was also a move away from political briefings, in a dense type face, to a new easy to read format with a more entertaining content; but crucially for the development of sports writing leisure news increased. Photographs and better presentation of sports results helped it to become a legitimate and appealing addition. As part of these driving changes, Stead also recognised the opportunities that women offered to newspapers, he was

⁷ (1901-02) *Seventh Annual Report of The Society of Women Journalists*. p. 30/28.

⁸ (1901-2). *Eighth Annual Report of The Society of Women Journalists*. (1906-07). *Twelfth Annual Report of The Society of Women Journalists*. (1909-10) *Fifteenth Annual Report of The Society of Women Journalists*.

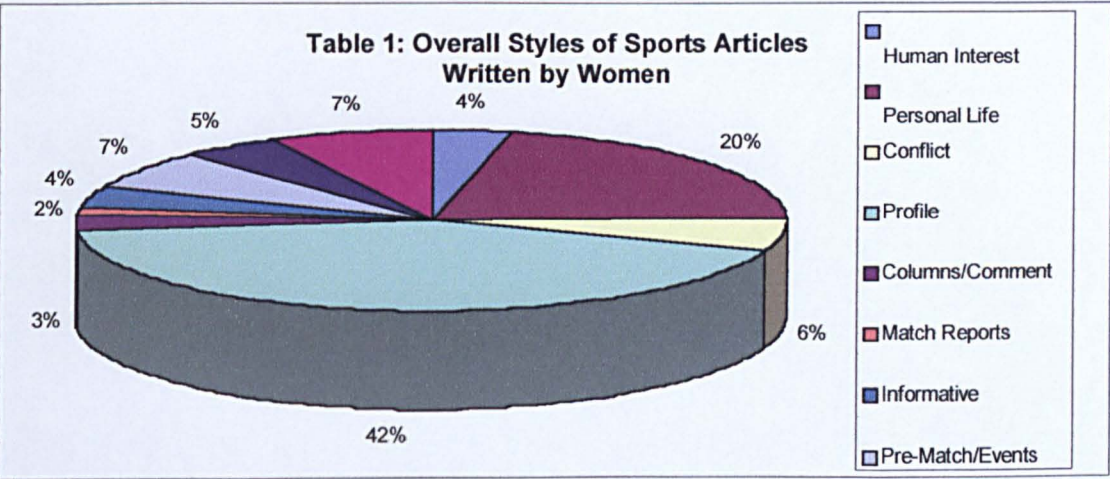
⁹ Low, F. (1904). *Press Work for Women: A Text Book for the Young Woman Journalist: What to Write, How to Write it, and Where to Send it*. London: R. Upcott Gills.

¹⁰ (1909-1910). *The Annual Report of the Society of Women Journalists*. p. 57.

¹¹ (1910). *The Woman Journalist*. 1. p. Front Cover.

¹² Ewart, A. (1982). *100 Years of Fleet Street*. p. 3.

among the first to hire them, believing in particular that their sex had a talent for interviews. Alfred Harmsworth (later Lord Northcliff), one of the original newspaper barons, also spoke of his confidence in the benefit of women to the profession at the Annual dinner of the SWJ., where he noted women achieved over their male colleagues in specialisms that required 'powers of quick observation' and 'interviews', a description which certainly adheres to the requirements of sports writing.¹³ He backed up his claim by the fact that his newspapers and magazines employed more than 300 women. In addition there was a move towards articles which transcended the class divide such as 'human interest' stories. The research conducted for this study, summarised in Table 1 below, shows it was an style favoured by women sports writers in the selection of their writing that was examined.¹⁴



However the most important part of their evolution was women's relationship to sports. The rise of sports for women in schools and the fact that it had become an acceptable part of middle-class leisure time, both increased their participation. Holt argues in *Sport and the British* (1989) that the major change for them came in expensive girls schools like Roedean, Wycombe Abbey and St Leonards in Scotland' which all had games mistress.

The new schools were supplied with games mistresses from the private college of physical education at Dartford owned and run by the redoubtable Madame Bergman-

¹³ (1911-12). 18th Annual Report of the Society of Women Journalists.
¹⁴ The categories 'personal life' and 'profiles' also fit the remit of 'human interest' identified here because of their focus on the people behind sports.

Osternerg, whose influence in women's physical education before the first world war was enormous.¹⁵

Holt argues it was the emergence of such schools and their games mistresses which saw hockey become the game for middle class school girls. Hargreaves supports this view in *Sporting Females* (1989), stating

as more middle class women gained access to formal education, they took part in organised sports in increasing numbers. Women's hockey quickly developed a firm affiliation to the sphere of education because the universities, schools and colleges could provide sufficient players in the right age groups to make it a viable activity.¹⁶

This growth in women playing in schools was certainly reflected in the opportunities for women as writers. One member of the SWJ notes

women's sports and games are not as yet an over-filled department, and when it is remembered how keenly all the pupils of the schools for girls are interested over these, there would seem to be a place for greater attention to the subject.¹⁷

And this was reflected in the media. For example the *Hockey Field*, a journal for women by women, was established in 1900 and noted as being the first paper 'solely devoted to the interests of women's sport'.¹⁸ Its editor Edith Thompson was also contributing hockey articles to the *Pall Mall Gazette* on a regular basis in 1916.¹⁹ As women found a greater access to sport, it was logical that these areas also became open to them as writers.

As well as hockey, other sports and the women who were participating in them were documented in society books like *The Ladies Court Book* (1908). The 'Motoring' and 'Sports and Pastimes' and 'The Calendar' sections all contain information on ladies golf championships, lawn tennis, croquet, archery, fencing, skating, hockey, horse racing, boat races, and cricket matches. All these sports were those favoured by the middle classes, as working class women did not have the leisure time to participate in such events. Particular emphasis was placed on golf, stating its 'all-round virtues' and calling it '*par excellence* [sic] the sport for women, a truth to which they have not been slow to subscribe'.²⁰ But as

¹⁵ Holt, R. (1989). *Sport and the British: A Modern History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p. 118.

¹⁶ Hargreave, J. (1994). *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sport*. London: Routledge. p. 101.

¹⁷ *The Woman Journalist*. 18. p. 3.

¹⁸ *The Woman Journalist*. 18. p. 1.

¹⁹ *The Woman Journalist*. 18. p. 1. And (1916). *The Woman Journalist*. 34. July.

²⁰ (1908). *The Ladies Court Book*. London: W.H. Smith & Sons. p. 408.

Hargreaves notes, while women have had a long association with golf it was 'only among a small number of privileged women'.²¹ Golf was one of the major sports women were found to be writing on, all who were well educated and from the middle-classes.²² Writers such as Eleanor Helme and Mabel Stringer, two of the most visible writers at this time, both reported on golf.

The limits on the amount of women who were participating in sport, in turn, limited the numbers of those who would find success as writers because of the 'play to write' debate. This debate was based on the assumption that as women were not 'naturally' equipped for sport, the only way to gain the authority necessary to write about sports was to have been exceptional players. As discussed above the women visible here, like Stringer and Helme, were mainly ex-players. Thompson, although not a serious player, did play hockey at school and notes it was her favourite sport, and she also had strong connections with the women's hockey organisations who lent their support to her journal.²³ Dawson notes in *Practical Journalism* (1904) the newspapers' need 'for the exercise of special knowledge' in sport, was a vital concern because the writer must be able to present the event to the reader in an informed, accurate and entertaining way, and for this the writer has to be able to take on the role of an expert.²⁴ Yet because sporting expertise was viewed as a 'masculine' trait, to be perceived as an expert, women writers had to first justify their role through their personal abilities. But even the authority of a sporting background was not a guarantee for success. Golf writer Helme explained in her autobiography *After the Ball* (1931) that her first career break came from the *Yorkshire Post*, but it came with reservations.

There was a stern warning at the end of the commission: 'We have never had a report of golf from a woman before, and the chief Editor thinks it most unnecessary to have a special report of this at all, so I hope you will make a success of it'.²⁵

This is just one example of the prejudice which the early women sports writers had to conquer. Such comments would have created a great burden for any young journalist

²¹ Hargreave, J. (1994). *Sporting Females*. p. 100.

²² (1908). *The Ladies Court Book*. p. Contents page.

²³ Thompson, E. (1913). The History of *The Hockey Field*. *The Woman Journalist*. 18. November. p. 1.

²⁴ Dawson, J. (1904). *Practical Journalism: How to Enter there on and Succeed. A Manual for Beginners*. (2nd Edit). London: L Upcott Gill. p. 59.

embarking on her first assignment. Women undertaking 'masculine' employment found that it was not enough for them to be average; they had to be exceptional.

Another continuing problem for women in taking on the expert role, was that all the sports discussed above were those where the 'physical qualifications fit', with women still defined by the images of 'femininity'. Although hockey had become one of the largest sports associated with girls the concern persisted that it was too rough for women.²⁶ The distinction of gender in sport was even evident from women themselves, for example the *Ladies Court Book* (1908) states 'that they [women] are inferior to men in golf, lawn tennis, hockey, archery, and fencing which is due, not to any deficiency of skill, but to their physical limitations'.²⁷ The physical aspects of gender continued to raise questions about the capabilities of the female body, a factor McCrane argues occurred despite the fact that 'relatively little was known about women's biology and less about how it related to physical activity at this time'.²⁸ But the image of women's capabilities were highly ingrained in sporting culture. Hargreaves contends the sports, such as those highlighted in *The Ladies Court Book*, actually reinforced the physical limitation of women, because they 'complemented the middle-class conception of lady like behaviour' and were often simply society events where women passively watched the men compete and therefore upheld the 'superiority of men'.²⁹ As discussed above the subject of the texts were upper and middle class women those who had an abundance of leisure time and money they could use in their pursuit of sporting interests. Whether as participants or spectators in a leisure activity, women still needed both time and money to explore these activities. Sports like tennis and croquet were held in private areas, like gardens and Holt believes it is this which kept women firmly positioned in domesticity.³⁰ The *Observer* search for 1908, as shown in Table 2 below, supports this argument showing women's sport was negligible in the early part of the century, instead women's inclusion was as both participators and spectators in the 'mixed sex' category, which included such sporting

²⁵ Helme, E.E. (1931). *After the Ball*. p. 36.

²⁶ McCrane, K. (1988). *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*. p. 130/131.

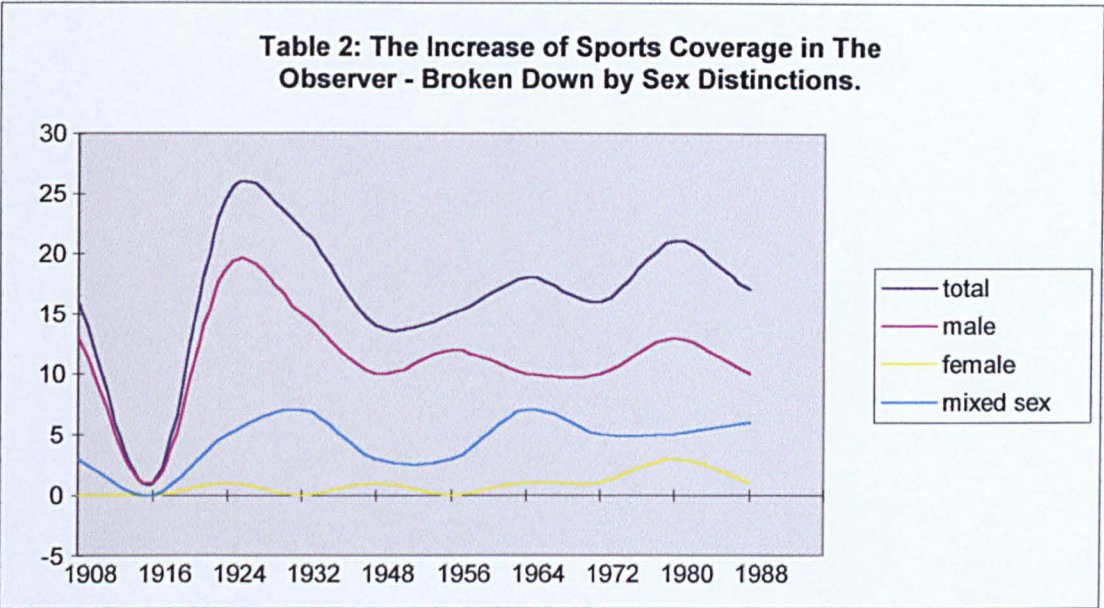
²⁷ (1908). *The Ladies Court Book*. p. 407.

²⁸ McCrane, K. (1988). *Ibid*. p. 192.

²⁹ Hargreave, J. (1994). *Sporting Females*. p. 53.

³⁰ Holt, R. (1989). *Sport and the British*. p. 18.

society events.³¹ This foundation in the passive role, hindered women in their attempts to portray an image of 'active' expertise necessary for the writer.



All three factors, the spirit of the new women, the encouragement of the profession, and the increasing evidence of sports participation, did combine to support Miss Stringer's optimism, but it was not without problems. The growing strength of the female sporting voice can be seen in the establishment of the *Daily Mirror*, as a newspaper for women by women.

Edelman, argues in his book *The Mirror: A Political History* (1966) that the idea to establish a paper for women emerged from discussions at the Women's International Progressive Union (WIPU). The women from this organisation felt they were under-represented by the current output of the press and stated their intention to produce their own paper to focus on the needs and desires of the modern woman.³² Edelman states Harmsworth heard the idea to create a gendered paper for women, recognised it as a good one, and seeing the potential of the woman reader, he 'got in first': being a powerful male in the industry he was able to do so.³³ However, the *Daily Mirror* was not a success. The paper failed after just three weeks, but the question is why? Marzolf suggests it was because Harmsworth had misinterpreted the

³¹ (1908). *Observer*. 3 May.
³² Edelman, M. (1966). *The Mirror: A Political History*. London: Hamish Hamilton. p. 4.
³³ Edelman, M. (1966). (1966). *Ibid*. p. 4.

original idea and instead created a paper for the 'home loving ladies' and not for 'the naughty new woman'.³⁴ The focus on sections such as, 'Theatre', 'Social Functions', 'Weddings', 'Movements of the Court', 'Today's Sales' and 'Social News, Home and Abroad', were all a reflection of domestic sphere interests.³⁵ The aim of the WIPU had been to create a paper with news issues of interest to women. The opening few editions, where women were in editorial control included a 'Women's Sports and Pastimes' section. The first edition promised to report on 'Hunting, Golf, Hockey, Motoring, Cycling, Badminton, Tennis, Croquet, and Sculling'.³⁶ Yet only the first and second editions contained reports and results on hunting and golf.³⁷ By the third edition it had been reduced to a small paragraph of results from women's golf events and horse racing and it continued to shrink, with only a few further references.³⁸ The decrease in sport coincided with Harmsworth's decision to bring in a male editor to 'save' the paper and somewhere during this transition the needs of women were translated to simply shopping and socialising. When the paper quickly failed Harmsworth said it was because 'women can't write and don't want to read' and it was his detrimental interpretation of women and newspapers which was recorded in the history books.³⁹

Harmsworth was not alone in his view of women. Although many had found a new determination and some encouragement to enter the profession they were not often welcomed nor did they find equality with their male colleagues. As Bennett argues in *Journalism for Women: A Practical Guide* (1898) although he supported women entering the profession, he highlights their major dilemma, as escaping the gendered nature of journalism. He argues that while a woman doctor had achieved the status of being perceived as a doctor who was also a woman, Fleet Street was not so enlightened and continued to see

³⁴ Marzolf, M. (1977). *Up From the Footnote*. p. 273.

³⁵ (1903). *Daily Mirror*. 3 November.

³⁶ (1903). *Daily Mirror*. 2 November. p. 1. And this selection of sports were ones which were participating in at the time and they were also the same type of sports traditional newspapers were covering for their male readers at this time. (See Appendix 7.1).

³⁷ (1903). *Daily Mirror*. 2/3 November. p. 15.

³⁸ (1903). *Daily Mirror*. 4 November. p. 15. and 11 November. p. 15.

³⁹ Edelman, M. (1966). *The Mirror: A Political History*. p. 5.

'not two sexes, but two species - journalist and women journalists'.⁴⁰ An article written before Stringer's in 1913 in the SWJ's internal publication, *The Woman Journalist*, argues the division was based on the fear by the industry that more women would threaten the jobs of men, and solidified by the 'prejudice that men and women cannot work side by side'.⁴¹ The President of the SWJ, Frances Billington, concluded in an article in *The Woman's Library. Vol. 1: Educations and Professions*, (1903) that journalism was 'still a masculine profession' and that equality with men was limited which was 'devastating' to women's new-found confidence and assertiveness and this perspective lingered on.⁴²

Part of the problem was the type of journalism which was considered acceptable for women. The general viewpoint was that 'fashion, gossip and feature writing' were women's subjects and hard news would upset women's 'fragile' sensibilities. Only a few were able to make their way into 'political coverage', 'foreign correspondents' or sports writing.⁴³ For example Jean Goodman notes in her autobiography that her ambition as a young girl was to become a journalist, yet she was told by her horrified headmistress, 'a journalist, my dear! Surely you mean a writer?'⁴⁴ The key to this comment is in the choice of terminology. At this time 'suitable' writing was done from the confines of the home on fictional 'feminine' subjects, but taking up active work in the labour market via the industry of journalism was not. It was also considered a dangerous profession, one which was a 'daily grind', a harsh kind of work unsuitable for 'feminine' concerns'.⁴⁵ This perspective was deliberated in an after dinner discussion by the women's auxiliary committee of the London District Institute of Journalists who addressed the question, 'Are Women a Power in the Press?'.⁴⁶ In this debate the view that women were only capable of contributing to 'periodical fiction and miscellaneous

⁴⁰ Bennett, E. A. (1898). *Journalism for Women: A Practical Guide*. London: John Lane. p. 23.

⁴¹ L.L. (1912). The Training of the Woman Journalist. *The Woman Journalist*. Jan. 7. p. 2. (initials only given for author).

⁴² Billington, F. (1904). Women and Journalism. p. 175.

⁴³ Marzolf, M. (1977) *Up From the Footnote*. p. 271.

⁴⁴ Goodman, J. (1973). *Anything but Housework*. Suffolk: Terence Dalton Limited. p. 14.

⁴⁵ Sebba, A. (1994). *Battling for News*. p. 48

⁴⁶ (1912). *The Woman Journalist*. 10. July. p. 1.

trivialities of the smaller journals' was strongly refuted, but it was clearly an issue they felt they had to confront.⁴⁷

In addition the perception of the profession of journalism itself added to the belief that it was unsuitable for women. This assumption meant that while a move towards professionalisation should have increased opportunities for women, the gendered nature of the profession continued to restrict women. Lawrence argues in *Journalism as a Profession* (1903) that 'the journalist was assumed to be incompetent if he wore a clean collar' and was only ranked a 'little lower' than an 'impossible itinerant artist or strolling player'.⁴⁸ It was this image of journalists that created the view of being an improper environment for women. The desire to move away from this image and project a respectable professional status, ironically, caused even greater problems for women. In order to escape from the tales of the 'drunken hack' in the smoke filled rooms of the paper and establish the credibility necessary, they had to convince the public they were 'gentlemen', but the objective of a more congenial working environment did not automatically make it a more acceptable place for women. Instead it led to calls for a 'closed shop' approach in order to control new entrants. An article in the official magazine of the Institute of Journalists (IOJ), *The Journalist* summarised these objectives.

The way to raise our status is to close the door of the Institute to all who cannot plead adequate qualifications for membership. Let us treat outsiders as outsiders and discard sentimentality. It ought to be our aim to make the title 'journalist' apply only to members of the Institute.⁴⁹

But this was problematic for women who were not joining the IOJ. SWJ archives state that one of the primary reasons for establishing the SWJ was that it was felt the IOJ did not 'engage the confidence of women'.⁵⁰ Therefore to only assign the label 'journalist' to members of the institute, would exclude other such organisations and hence many women. A change of image did not mean more space for women when the aim of a 'gentleman's' profession was in itself notable in the absence of women in this new definition.

⁴⁷ (1912). *The Woman Journalist*. 10. July. p. 1.

⁴⁸ Lawrence, Arthur. (1903). *Journalism as a Profession*. London; Hodder & Stoughton, p. viii.

⁴⁹ Bainbridge, C. (1984). *One Hundred Years of Journalism*. p. 54.

⁵⁰ Cevasco, G.A. (1993). *The 1890's: An Encyclopaedia of British Literature, Art and Culture*. London: Garland Publishing. p. 570.

Frances Billington, the President of SWJ, summed up the closed shop dilemma, stating 'on the surface, the calling could hardly fail to appeal...but the difficulty remains to find the "open door"'.⁵¹ She felt the closed shop issue led to less opportunities for women and therefore greater competition for a fewer openings. She notes how the gendered nature of this situation was apparent in the type of training advice she would give to a hopeful entrant. If the entrant were a young man she would tell him 'to train in the provincials as a junior and work his way up', but she states she would not be able to give the same advice to a woman because they would not be accepted.⁵² The training at this time was highly informal, apprenticeship format. In a profession staffed almost wholly by men and who considering the view of women at the time, would have been happier to have a young man shadow them and learn the ropes than a young woman. The apprenticeship scheme, was a 'one-sex monopoly' where only a male could start at the bottom and rise from within.⁵³

The limitations of traditional training opportunities were one of the greatest set-backs for women. Bennett could only advise his hopeful women readers that the best way in for them was to, 'purchase a paper', 'buy the sub-editorship of a third-rate paper', 'possess friends of high influence' in journalism or become an 'editorial secretary', or his best option - to be 'outside' contributor' - the freelance.⁵⁴ His recommendations ranged from the extreme to the highly feminised. In addition, freelancing was considered the most difficult and unstable route for all journalists, regardless of gender. Journalist ability was not enough on its own for the freelance to flourish. It also required luck, and a change of editor could see the end of a hard won contract because he might wish to use his own freelance contributors. This meant it was more difficult to attain a regular income or the same professional regard as the (predominantly male) staff members received. Also women sports writers would have a continuing battle to prove their sporting expertise in each of their submissions to an editor, where their male colleagues would not.

⁵¹ Billington, F. (1904). *Women and Journalism*. In McKenna, Ethel.M.M. (1903). *The Women's Library*. Vol. 1. Education and the Profession. London: Chapman & Hall. p. 176.

⁵² Billington, F. (1904). *Ibid.* p. 176.

⁵³ L.L. (1912). *The Training of the Woman Journalist*. *The Woman Journalist*. Jan. 7.p. 2. (initials only given for author).

⁵⁴ Bennett, E. A. (1898). *Journalism for Women*. pp. 23-24.

The optimism in Stringer's opening comments in 1913 did not fully reflect the gendered divisions in journalism in the first part of the century. The acceptance of women only extended to certain sporting events and only to a limited amount of privileged women. Nor did the situation immediately improve for women as the century progressed. Whereas the First World War, in general, improved the employment for women, this was not necessarily the case in journalism. By 1916 women in employment had increased by 2million a year, because of the need to recruit women for the jobs left behind by the men leaving for war.⁵⁵ Roy Terry argues that it was as a direct result of women's involvement in World War I that pushed them out in greater numbers into the public sphere and saw more women challenge for the right to employment.⁵⁶ Women who occupied male jobs in war time proved to themselves and their employers that they could do jobs previously thought 'unfeminine'.⁵⁷ But in sports writing there is little evidence that any women benefited at this time, indeed only a few women were successful in the profession in general, such as Ellen Bayliss of Reuters. She was hired in the First World War as messenger and promoted to a parliamentary correspondent during the Second.⁵⁸ A messenger was a dangerous job, but her competence allowed her to stay in the job and build a career.

In journalism, the gender division was still clearly defined. For example discussions between the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) and the Newspaper Proprietors Association (NPA) in 1917, (detailed in Appendix 3.1: 'Extract of Discussions between the NUJ and NPA on the "Sex Question" and payments for Women Journalists. December 31, 1917') shows how women were viewed as separate. The NPA proposed they were not 'journalists' in the same manner as men and therefore could not be included in the pay scales because of the 'diversity in the experience, knowledge and duties of women journalists'.⁵⁹ This assumption ignores the diversity in all journalist's abilities, a factor the NUJ tried to argue that the

⁵⁵ Heald, H. (Ed.). (2000). *Britain's Century: Year by Year from 1900 to 2000*. London: Dorling Kindersley. p. 42.

⁵⁶ Terry, R. (1988). *Women in Khaki: The Story of the British Woman Soldier*. Columbus Books: London. p. 84.

⁵⁷ Costelloe, R. afterwards Strachey, R. (1935). *Careers: Openings of Women's Employment and a Guide for those Seeking Work*. London: Faber & Faber. p. 5.

⁵⁸ Read, D. (1992). *The Power of News*. p. 151.

⁵⁹ Mansfield, F.J. (1943). *Gentlemen, the Press!* p. 233.

diversity in journalists was not specific to one sex, but that all journalist's varied in experience, knowledge and duties. But they were not successful and gender remained the defining aspect of the competence for the 'woman journalist'.

While gender discrimination persisted, it was the reduction in the size of newspapers and the cancellation of sporting events which was another reason why opportunities were limited. The war stopped most sports, with international fixtures being the first to go, both the Athens (1914) and Berlin (1916) Olympics were cancelled.⁶⁰ Editions of the *Observer* in 1916 were seriously reduced in their sporting coverage, with often as little as two small paragraphs.⁶¹ The limitations on paper during and after the war meant that newspaper production was down to a minimum. The *Sunday Times* was reduced to 12 pages containing only 73 column inches of sport.

Yet despite the problems there was still evidence of a sporting voice by women. Editions of *The Sportswoman - A Record of British Women's Sports* included coverage on golf, motoring, hunting, kennels and match reports on hockey and lacrosse games.⁶² Similarly *The Sportswoman: A monthly record of Sport and Athletics for Women. Official Organ of the College and Schools of the United Kingdom* in 1920 included a wider assortment of coverage featuring tennis, swimming, running, hockey, golf, hunting, gymnastics and cycling. It also reported on football, a game taken up by working class women who replaced men in the factories, in both their jobs and works football teams.⁶³ All these journals encouraged women to participate in such sports by presenting them as legitimate social pastimes. This image for women was reinforced by high profile sports women, like Cecil Leitch who were featured heavily in the press.⁶⁴ Women's involvement in sport was growing: by 1914 there were 1000 tennis clubs and the popularity for women grew with the press coverage in the achievements of Dorothea Lambert Chambers and later Suzanne Lenglen, who dominated

⁶⁰ Welch, D. (Ed). (1998). *The Daily Telegraph - Century of Sport: Great Sporting Events and Personalities of the Twentieth Century*. London: MacMillan. p. 40.

⁶¹ (1916). *Observer*. 11 June 11.

⁶² (1919). *The Sportswoman - A Record of British Women's Sports*. p.1 and 21.

⁶³ (1920). *The Sportswoman: A monthly record of Sport and Athletics for Women. Official Organ of the College and Schools of the United Kingdom*. 1, 1. 7 May.

⁶⁴ Welch, D. (Ed). (1998). *The Daily Telegraph*. p. 39.

tennis winning Wimbledon in 1919 aged 20.⁶⁵ In the same year the Inter-Services Championships included a women's 440 yard relay and the first Northern Counties Ladies Championships were also held.⁶⁶ The perception of women's sporting participation and the strength of their sporting voice was evolving, even in this difficult time.

Whereas the war only gave a few women the chance to 'distinguish themselves' in new professions, it has also been argued the few who did 'suffered a set back as soon as the men returned from the armed services'.⁶⁷ The inter-war period continued this backlash towards those women who had taken jobs during the first World War and were facing a 'recession from 1920', which was seen in a general 'decline in women's trade union membership'.⁶⁸ However, it is interesting to note in the inter-war period that the numbers of women in journalism steadily increased: those employed as 'authors, editors, journalists' was stated to be 2,028 in 1921 rising to 3, 213 in 1931.⁶⁹ Despite the difficulties of the depression the confidence of women to fight for their rights in journalism was illustrated when a group of women journalist's in London held a public protest in 1923 to the Triangle Secretarial Office regarding their demands for equal pay.⁷⁰ In 1928 an Act of Parliament put women on an equal footing with men, by reducing the voting age down from 30 to 21, as a result six million more women voted in the general election of 1929 and 13 were elected to the commons.⁷¹ Once again as women fought for their rights to a voice in the public sphere in politics, it coincided with their progress in journalism.

The inter-war years did have a positive effect on sport, including women's sport. After the hostilities of war, the 1920s was argued to be a period where people turned to sport as a

⁶⁵ Holt, R. (1989). *Sport and the British*. p. 126.

⁶⁶ Mason, T. (Ed.). (1989). *Sport in Britain: A Social History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 62

⁶⁷ Sphinx, A. (pseud). (1918). *Journalism as a Career for Women*. p. 13. And Hunter, F. Women in British Journalism. In Griffiths, D. (Ed.) (1992). *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press 1422-1992*. London: Macmillan Press. p. 690.

⁶⁸ Rowbotham, S. (1999). *A Century of Women*. p. 129.

⁶⁹ Rowbotham, S. (1999). *Ibid*. p. 129.

⁷⁰ Costelloe, R. afterwards Strachey, R. (1935). *Careers*. p. 45.

⁷¹ Mansfield, F.J. (1943). *Gentlemen, the Press!* p. 235.

⁷¹ Heald, H. (Ed). (2000). *Britain's Century*. pp. 67 - 68.

relief from the struggles and previous hostilities.⁷² It was hailed as an age of sporting heroes, with 'larger than life characters' who performed 'feats beyond belief'.⁷³ Female heroes were among those who captured the public's imagination, such as Gertrude Ederle who was the first woman to swim the English Channel in 1926.⁷⁴ There were also 'firsts' in the air and the public were particularly enchanted by female flying heroes, like Amy Johnson and Amelia Earhart.⁷⁵ The thirties saw the continuation of The Women's World Games and British women competed at the Olympic Games for the first time in 1932.⁷⁶ While individual names of women sports writers were not visible, the media did respond to this enthusiasm for sport: the *News of the World* offered '£1000 for the 1st British woman to break the record' set by Ederle swimming the channel.⁷⁷ It also sponsored women's athletic meetings, while 'the *Sporting Life* sponsored the Monte Carlo team and in 1925 the *Daily Mirror* gave a trophy for club contest in women's athletics'.⁷⁸ Athletics for women was also developing with 23,000 members in the WAAA by the mid 1920s.⁷⁹ 'Keep-fit' organisations were established, in particular the Women's League for Health and Beauty founded in 1929 by Mrs Bagot Stack. Although there was an emphasis on 'femininity', it was becoming more acceptable for women to be physical.⁸⁰ In the media, sports coverage was growing; the BBC had its first Radio sports broadcast in 1927, a football match between Arsenal v Sheffield Wednesday, but significantly it was Eleanor Helme who did the first radio broadcast of a golf game in the same year reporting on the Ladies Golf Foursomes Tournament.⁸¹ Hargreaves argues the growth and commercialisation of sport at this time raised its profile in the public interest and

⁷² Newlin, M. and Collins, T. (1999). *Reuters Century of Great British Sport*. London: CollinsWillow. p. 32.

⁷³ Gearing, B. and McNeill, P. (Eds). (1999). *Seventy Years of BBC Sport*. London: Andre Deutsch Ltd. p. 12.

⁷⁴ Hargreaves, Jennifer. (1994). *Sporting Females*. pp. 115/116.

⁷⁵ Gearing, B. and McNeill, P. (Eds). (1999). *Ibid.* p. 17. And Brailsford, D. (1992). *British Sport a Social History*. Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press. p. 114.

⁷⁶ Crump, J. *Athletics*. In Mason, T. (Ed.). (1989). *Sport in Britain*: p. 63.

⁷⁷ Hargreaves, Jennifer. (1994). *Sporting Females*. p. 118.

⁷⁸ Crump, J. (1989). *Ibid.* p. 63.

⁷⁹ Crump, J. (1989). *Ibid.* p. 63.

⁸⁰ McCarthy, T. (1989). *War Games: The Story of Sport in World War Two*. London: A Queen Anne Press Book (a division of MacDonald & Co.). p. 24.

⁸¹ Gearing, B. and McNeill, P. (Eds). (1999). *Seventy Years of BBC Sport*. p. 14. And Lowerson, J. *Golf*. In Mason, T. (Ed.). (1989). *Sport in Britain*: p. 204

that the introduction of radio was particularly important in bringing to life distant events and into the family home and women were participating in this revolution.⁸²

But what effect was the increase in sport having on the press and its women writers? Both golfers Cecil Leitch and Joyce Wethered caught the attention of the press. During the inter war period, their matches made front page news on the national dailies.⁸³ This could only help their profile when they turned to writing on sport themselves. Wethered wrote *Golfing Memories and Methods* (1933) and *Golf from Two Sides* (1932), to pass on her golfing experiences and techniques. While Leitch forged a career for herself in the press with a long running column in *The Referee*, a Sunday journal which covered a wide variety of sport. When her column first appeared in 1923 the sports pages included reports and articles from Rugby, Ladies Golf, Roller-skating, Amateur Boxing, Billiards, International Swimming and a Billiards Gossip column, but it was Leitch's column on golf that dominated the layout. Her first column celebrated her status as 'Three times winner of the Ladies Open Championship' and her articles continued to be a large feature of *The Referee's* sports pages for the following year, which profiled both women's golf events and general advice to golfers.⁸⁴ The title 'Miss' was later removed and the articles were now simply signed 'Cecil Leitch'. Whose decision it was to remove the 'Miss' is unknown, but it suggested she had transcended gender. Enid Wilson, the 1933 British Champion, also created a niche for herself in columns and writing in *Golf Illustrated*, *Golf Monthly*, and became the *Daily Telegraph's* golf correspondent.⁸⁵ A later golf writer Mair also noted in *One Hundred Years of Women's Golf* that the appointment of Wilson to the *Telegraph* was 'outstanding from the point of view of the women's game as a whole', believing a visible women writer would help the coverage of women's sports.⁸⁶ As the popularity of sports in schools continued journals such as *Women's Cricket* (1930), and *Women's Hockey* (1933) were formed by Majorie Pollard, also from her experiences as an international cricket and hockey player.

⁸² Hargreaves, Jennifer. (1994). *Sporting Females*. p. 113/115.

⁸³ Wilson, E. (1961). *A Gallery of Women Golfers*. London: Country Life. p. 12.

⁸⁴ (1923). *The Referee*. 7 Jan. p. 10.

⁸⁵ Wilson, E. (1961). *Ibid*. p. 9.

⁸⁶ Mair, L. (1992). *One Hundred Years of Women's Golf*. London: Mainstream Publishing in conjunction with the Ladies Golf Union. p. 106.

However, all the above women were still confronting the 'play to write' debate, as they all found their way into writing by first proving their ability as players. There was a common belief at the time that women lacked authenticity and one article in *The Sportswoman*, 'Sportswoman's Year of Triumph', highlights this position.

Not so long ago women deferred to men in all matters relating to sports and games. A girl, for example would give respectful attention to her young brother when that juvenile aired his views about cricket or football, which he was inclined to do somewhat patronisingly - 'girls' opinions' being negligible in his regard.⁸⁷

If their opinions were not even valued in her home life, they were given even less notice outside the home. However, this is not a view that women writers were prepared to accept. Pollard used her writing to poke fun at this image. One particular article in *Women's Cricket*, 'Our Gossip Writer's Page: Ssh! – Have you heard?' is a tongue-in-cheek piece about an article, by a women, on the 'death' of women's cricket in a Sunday paper. She attacks the writer for upholding the opinions of women and begins 'have you heard? *Women's Cricket is dead*, slain by no less an authority than the Lady Sports (or was it Beauty?) Expert.⁸⁸ Pollard was most upset by the writer's description in her report of the players she notes who were 'a dreadful horde of 'Amazons' and thus Pollard jokingly advises readers to 'give up that nasty game' because it makes them unfeminine.⁸⁹ The interesting aspect about Pollard's reaction to this report by another woman, is her anger at the way the writer is scathing of women's participation in sport. This was a perception that all women who were successful at this time, all needed to overcome. For example, all of Leitch's writing is accompanied by a reminder of her sporting accomplishments. Even though she was one of the most successful sports women of the day, the reader was still constantly reminded of her playing expertise. In both texts, *Golf* (1922) and *Golf Simplified* (1942) there is an extensive list of all her championship wins and all her columns used 'Three Times Winner of the Ladies Open', as part celebration, part justification.⁹⁰ Helme was also a combination journalist and player, sometimes at the same time, writing for newspapers in 1910, 14 years before she won the Open Champion Bronze medals in 1924. She combined jobs such as writing and editing *Eve*, with her playing career. Her status in both is reinstated in her book *The Best of Golf* (1925). Under her name

⁸⁷ (1933). The Sportswoman's Triumph. *The Sportswoman*. May. p. 3.

⁸⁸ *Women's Cricket*. July. p. 49.

⁸⁹ *Women's Cricket*. July. p. 49.

it states 'Open Championship, Bronze Medalist 1924, and Author of the *Lady Golfer's Tip Book*' (1923). The same qualification occurs for Pollard in most of her texts, for example, in *Cricket for Women and Girls* (1934), the reader is advised she was a player for 'England, The Midlands, and Stevenage' and 'Editor of Women's Cricket.' Like Helme her expertise as both a player and a writer is substantiated. This information is given to qualify her as the expert speaker and is also accompanied with a picture of the author, full length, on the facing page that states 'the author wearing what is considered a suitable uniform for the game' justifies her credentials with physical proof of her portrayal as a player herself.⁹¹ In *Hockey: How to Succeed* (1934) the foreword is written by the England Women's Hockey Association. Hilda Light, the President of the Association writes, 'besides being one of the greatest exponents of all time, any book on the game from her pen will receive a hearty welcome from players'.⁹² She uses the foreword to celebrate Pollard as an authority on women's Hockey, holding her up as an inspirational figure for the reader as well as an excellent sportswoman in her own right. These additional pieces of information illustrate the emphasis on expertise in their combined careers in sport and writing.

The need to address how women's sporting authority is perceived can be seen in sporting journals, like *The Sportswoman* (1933), 'the only national journal exclusively devoted to all women's sports' which stated in its opening edition its aim is to disprove 'the concept that women are incapable of discussing sporting matters'.⁹³ Other journals were clearly not so confident in their ability to project female voices as authority, for example *The Sportswoman: A monthly record of Sport and Athletics for Women. Official Organ of the College and Schools of the United Kingdom* (1920 -192) advertised its use of men in the editorial departments in order to project its sporting authority. Women writers also had to contend with the assumption that their expertise only extended to women readers. Wethered was resentful of this belief and stated in *Golfing Memories*, that she did not see this book, a combination of an instructional text and autobiography, as only intended for women. She writes in the Preface

⁹⁰ (1923). *The Referee*. 7 January.

⁹¹ Pollard, M. (1934). *Cricket for Women and Girls*. London: Hutchinson. p. Title page.

⁹² Pollard, M. (1934). *Hockey: How to Succeed*. London: Evans Brothers, p. 2.

first of all, I think it is necessary on the question of technique to say that I am not talking about 'ladies' golf', because, strictly speaking, there is no such thing as 'ladies' golf' at all - only good or bad golf as played by members of either sex.⁹⁴

Her argument is that she learned to play by watching and learning from men, therefore if there was such a thing as gendered golf she had been trained in 'men's golf'.⁹⁵ Wethered's comments indicate she saw her work as being important to all players, and did not see the game of golf nor its instruction as being a gendered factor. However once again it was an issue women had to confront as the extension of their sporting authority was problematic.

This gendered relationship of expertise became particularly difficult for women because of the 'play to write' debate. The sporting expertise that was deemed a necessary qualification for the job for women was not accepted by the IOJ. They were worried that ex-sports people who were unqualified as journalists would threaten its aim for a more respected status in society. In 1934 the IOJ raised this matter at their conference, where a motion was drafted which stated

the conference deplores the engagement of county and ex-county Cricketers and players of football, lawn tennis, golf and other games for writing of reports of tests and other matches, a practice which naturally creates in the public mind the unwarranted impression that the experienced sporting journalist is not competent to give accurate and interesting accounts of games; requests the council to draw the attention of the M.C.C., the Rugby Union and other sports controlling bodies to the abuse by men posing as amateurs, who draw higher pay as professionals; and expresses the view that the players' unions where such bodies exist, should also have the attention drawn to these practices of their members.⁹⁶

The resentment of the union was clear, ex-sports men entering the profession endangered their own assumed 'masculine' sporting voice and the inclusion of copy by an ex-player challenged their authority. But for women writers who had found their playing ability was the one way women were able to access the professional as writers, this allowed a greater understanding as to why they had such problems gaining employment in journalism.

In addition, femininity and sport were still largely connected at this time. For example *The Sportswoman's* (1933) registration issue states it will cover tennis, cricket, swimming, rowing,

⁹³ (1933). *The Sportswoman*. 1. May. p. 1.

⁹⁴ Wethered, J. (1933). *Golfing Memories and Methods*. London: Hutchinson. p. 7.

⁹⁵ Wethered, J. (1933). *Ibid*. p. 7.

⁹⁶ (1934). The Institute of Journalists Conference Minutes. Fourth Session. September 11.

motoring, flying, fencing, running, lacrosse, football, yachting, fishing, archery, shooting, riding, horse racing, social, golf, skating and billiards.⁹⁷ In conjunction with the domestic role in women's lives, it also stated its aims were to give 'special attention' to other matters such as music and dancing and 'the more immediately domestic accomplishments, including needlework, cookery and interior decoration'.⁹⁸ In the 1920s sports such as hockey, netball and lacrosse were introduced to women at certain schools because these were viewed as sports which did not 'carry the stigma of overt masculinity'.⁹⁹ Yet those which satisfied this criteria were full of contradictions because it of the way it was ordained women could 'run nearly an hour in a hockey match' but not at a 'track meet', as shown by the battle women had to get included in major athletics.¹⁰⁰

The problem of sporting expertise was likely to continue as although women's sports was clearly growing, there were still many difficulties for them. For example sports women like Kitty Godfree, a badminton and tennis player, who won singles titles in 1924 & 1926, still retained an amateur status which meant she relied upon her family, and like other middle-class athletes, she had the time and money to compete.¹⁰¹ Not everyone was welcoming of women in sports. British women did not compete in the Olympics until 1932 because the IOC refused to accept women's athletics in 1919 and kept to this until 1926. Even the British men had voted at the IOC meeting against the inclusion of women's events.¹⁰² British women did not compete in 1928 because they were angry only five events for women had been included.¹⁰³ More problems occurred in the 1928 Olympics after Fraulein Lind Radke of Germany broke the world record in the final of the women's 800 metres. It was eliminated as an event because of the 'weary and overwrought' state of the competitors at the end of the race and was not to return until 1960.¹⁰⁴ Where women had made specific progress during the war in football it was gradually taken back from women players. For example, *The Football Special*, a sporting weekly newspaper, included a column called the 'Football Girl'

⁹⁷ (1933). *The Sportswoman*. 1,1. 1 May. p. 1.

⁹⁸ (1933). *The Sportswoman*. 1,1. 1 May. p. 1.

⁹⁹ Park. R. (1987). *Sport, Gender and Society*. p. 85.

¹⁰⁰ Park. R. (1987). *Ibid*. p. 84.

¹⁰¹ Hargreaves, Jennifer. (1994). *Sporting Females*. p. 117.

¹⁰² Crump, J. *Athletics*. In Mason, T. (Ed.). (1989). *Sport in Britain*: p. 62.

¹⁰³ Brailsford, D. (1992). *British Sport*. p. 115.

which appeared as a round-up of results and issues in the women's game following the increased participation of women during the First World War.¹⁰⁵ Lopez states that women had taken over men's teams in the factories, as well as their jobs and returning men wanted to reclaim both. The column only ran for a few years and by 1923 it was no longer a feature. Its removal coincided with the ban on women playing on grounds of clubs affiliated to the Football Association and Lopez argues the ban came of the fear that the interest in the women's game would be detrimental for the returning men.¹⁰⁶ As they controlled the administration of the women's game they also had the power to define 'what it is to be a woman' and to be 'feminine', so just after women had established themselves, the FA banned women's teams from playing on association grounds 'citing football as being unsuitable for women', a ban which lasted 50 years.¹⁰⁷

There were also changes in the sports section which did not help women writers to progress. Although they had fought their way into the growing organised competitions that were now dominating sports sections, this had a detrimental effect in the sports pages. Comparison in the newspapers analysed from 1924 and 1932 show those in 1924 contained less gender restrictions. They including more 'feminised' amateur events, leisure pursuits and sports as social past times, to those in 1932 which saw a move to a consolidation of 'serious' professional 'masculinised' sports of the second half of the century - athletics, cricket, football, rugby, tennis, horse racing. The re-definition of what 'sport' was a move away from leisure pursuits for all, to sport as 'serious' competition re-placed it firmly back in the public sphere. There was an increase in 'betting' sports and even the *Times* began taking an interest in dog racing: sales of newspapers had been increasing since the War on the days where the pools results (betting on football) and advice on how to win were given.¹⁰⁸ Money was entering sports and with money came power - the traditional domain of men.

¹⁰⁴ Welch, D. (Ed). (1998). *The Daily Telegraph*. p. 67.

¹⁰⁵ (1921). *Football Special*.

¹⁰⁶ Lopez, S. (1997). *Women on the Ball*. p. x.

¹⁰⁷ Lopez, S. (1997). *Women on the Ball*. p. ix/x.

¹⁰⁸ McCarthy, T. (1989). *War Games*. p. 47.

The concern for women writers was that they had so far built careers by covering the sports they had successfully played, often leisure based sports. So how did the beginnings of the move to a more 'serious' consideration of sport affect their numbers? The 1930 IOJ 'register of specialist writers' contains only one woman sports writer, in comparison to 70 men. Mrs Sharp (the sole woman in 1929 also) was listed under 'sport general' as a freelance contributor.¹⁰⁹ This classification implies she was writing either on any and all sports, on a minority sport which was not considered important enough to be given an individual listing, or she wrote on the general issues surrounding women's sports. The other women members were listed under 'women's interests' 'Society and Gossip' 'fiction - children's subjects' confirming the fact that they were still more visible in 'feminine' domains.¹¹⁰ Another part of the reason that women were not found in the union records was because of the persisting resentment towards them in the profession. Samuel Mosley in *The Truth about a Journalist* wrote women in general were viewed by their male contemporaries as 'intruders' stating 'owing to prejudice and old associations, I should resist the fair invader to the last'.¹¹¹ This resistance to women made finding a way into the profession difficult; if their playing expertise was also resented they would need to be able to prove they were qualified through more official means, such as training programs.

Although the London College of Printing was offering a diploma for men and women from 1919 to 1939, the main method of entry persisted in being apprenticeship and in-house training schemes. The majority of student were those already on an apprenticeship and as the "closed shop" persisted most were men. The official history on the London College of Printing website states "getting an apprenticeship, (as a young man) without the sponsorship of a friend or relative, was very difficult" - for a young women it was virtually unheard of - and "this situation remained unchanged until the late 1980's".¹¹² It was in these original schemes

¹⁰⁹ Institute of Journalists. (1930). *Grey Book*.

¹¹⁰ Institute of Journalists. *Grey Book*. 1929 and 1930.

¹¹¹ Mosely, S.A. (1935). *The Truth about a Journalist*. London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd. p. 235.

¹¹² www.hewit.com. Also note The Centre of Journalism Studies, part of the School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies at Cardiff, University of Wales pioneered Britain's first university courses in journalism in 1970 to redress the lack of specified training available.

where women were not able to compete on an equal basis to men. Although many instructional texts would advise that the best methods of training would be in the provinces 'starting at the lowest rung of the journalistic ladder', if they were not being hired as apprentices, then even the most basic start was still not open to them.¹¹³ As before, the main entrance for women, if not through freelance, was in the inherently 'feminine' rank of the secretary or assistant.

The main method of employment for women in journalism continued to be in a freelance capacity. Data in Appendix 5.1 looks at the positions of the few women members of the IOJ in 1938 and the majority were freelance, which had both positive and negative effects. Although it was possible to make 'good incomes' by freelancing, as they offered editors a 'new and fresh point of view', technically working outside the industry was not without adversity.¹¹⁴ In particular the life of the freelance was an insecure career path which suffered a serious set-back in the depression in the 1930s. Yet even in good times Costello advises young women journalists, that even 'experienced freelances had a hard time making a living', but what it did offer was an opportunity to earn 'occasional money' and an initial way in.¹¹⁵ So while women writers were utilising this as the primary means of entrance, they did not have the security or acceptance of many of their male colleagues.

Once again the onset of World War II, brought new opportunities and old problems for women. On the one hand there were less sports events to write on, as sporting bodies were quicker to respond to the outbreak of war and events were cancelled almost immediately, following 'concerns for public safety, since crowds of spectators might be at risk from air raids'.¹¹⁶ Male organised football continued in the form of regional leagues, but the teams were unpredictable and crowds were diminishing, headlines read 'All Sport Brought to a Halt' on 4 September 1939; two Olympics were cancelled and cricket Test Series were

¹¹³ Mosely, S.A. (1935). *The Truth about a Journalist..* p. vii.

¹¹⁴ Costelloe, R. afterwards Strachey, R. (1935). *Careers.* p. 126.

¹¹⁵ Costelloe, R. afterwards Strachey, R. (1935). *Ibid.* p. 188.

¹¹⁶ Welch, D. (Ed). (1998). *The Daily Telegraph.* p. 92.

abandoned.¹¹⁷ Some sport did continue and its importance in the newspapers during and after the war was highly important. McCarthy argues in *War Games* it was crucial to the war effort, assisting with fitness and morale.¹¹⁸ Indeed he also argues that sports news was elevated in importance as 'a means of relaxation and also a way of maintaining a semblance of normality'.¹¹⁹ Table One, above (page 48) shows a definite increase in sports writing and the 1948 Official report on the Olympic games also notes that the press began to see the potential of the event as entertainment for the masses, who were recovering from the effects of war, with 'more space given to the games than to any other single event since the end of the war'.¹²⁰ The government had already begun to recognise the importance of sport in society. The Physical Training and Recreation Act of 1936 gave money to 'local authorities and voluntary to help build more swimming baths, gymnasias and play fields;' later the 1944 Education Act was also introduced which made 'mandatory in the provision of facilities for physical training and recreation by local education authorities for all their schools'.¹²¹ Sport was becoming more open and accessible to all, but as had occurred so many times already, any steps forward in the progress of organised sport and women's role within it were always tempered.

There were some successes for women generally in journalism. For example, Mary Stott, was a long standing journalist on the *Guardian* women's page, but she notes in her autobiography *Forgetting's No Excuse* (1994) that it was only in World War II that she was able to leave the women's side of the paper. She was an established journalist, with training in most areas, who had been located on the women's page against her desires and despite her earlier attempts to work in other 'masculine' domains, like sub-editing. It was particularly the upheaval of the social conditions in war which brought change for her. Only during this time was she allowed to make-up the newspaper, write leaders and leader page articles and later preside over the weekly editorial conference because staff shortages offered her the

¹¹⁷ Brailsford, D. (1992). *British Sport a Social History*. p. 123. McCarthy, T. (1989). *War Games*. p. Inside cover.

¹¹⁸ McCarthy, T. (1989). *War Games*. p. Inside cover.

¹¹⁹ McCarthy, T. (1989). *Ibid*. p. 47.

¹²⁰ *The Official Report of the Organising Committee for the XIV Olympiad, London 1948*. p. 105.

¹²¹ Mason, T. (Ed.). (1989). *Sport in Britain*. p. 2.

opportunity to prove herself. Women were also gaining in other areas of employment. By 1943 'four-fifths of the labour force since 1939 consisted of women' culminating in a new work force which, it was argued, had harnessed the power of women that 'gave Britain an enormous advantage in fighting the war'.¹²² But while it was during the second world war that women began to find posts opening for them on the national newspapers, those who did find a way in were still viewed as outsiders.¹²³ New female entrants were such an area for concern that they were discussed at meetings by the IOJ's post-war committee, which was established during the war to foresee problems that would occur in the industry once the war was over. In the minutes of the Post-War Conditions Committee 1942 the chairman's summary report noted in its section on employment that 'the temporary war-time engagement of juniors, of women and of war-discharged men, will require consideration'.¹²⁴ The immediate concern was consistent with the aim for 'closed shop' to maintain the professions status. The subject was at the forefront of the President's speech at the 1943 AGM of the IOJ; he said 'the institute can never compromise on the closed shop issue'.¹²⁵ From this speech and the tone of the minutes of the Post War Conditions Committee it was evident that the hiring of those who were not trained journalists, but coming into the profession to satisfy demand in trying times, would put the status of journalism under threat.

Women entering at this time faced a misconstruction of the assumption that all of them were untrained and unqualified. This was addressed by Emilie Peacocke, the sole woman representative on the Committee, who argued the Committee's fear of 'outsiders' was wrongly assigned. While she agreed 'every endeavour should be made to restrict lay competition with professional journalists' she emphasised that it was not to simply disregard all 'outsiders' (namely women), but only the untrained.¹²⁶ Her emphasis on the untrained, was an attempt to displace the perspective that woman = non-trained = unprofessional. She vigorously argued that women entrants were suitable and would 'become competent post-war

¹²² Terry, R. (1988). *Women in Khaki*. p. 15.

¹²³ Hunter, F. Women in British Journalism. In Griffiths, D. (Ed.) (1992). *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press 1422-1992*. London: Macmillan Press. p. 690.

¹²⁴ Institute of Journalists: Post-war Conditions Committee: Minutes of a Meeting held in the Hall of the Institute on Thursday 9th July 1942.

¹²⁵ Institute of Journalists: Minutes of the Annual General Meeting 1943.

¹²⁶ Institute of Journalists: Post-war Conditions Committee: 9th July 1942.

competitors with men in increasing numbers'.¹²⁷ However, the growth in the proportion of women to men, in all sections of the press, was still growing and this growth was seen as of such great importance that the committee decided to bring it to the 'immediate notice of the council'.¹²⁸ The major worry was that the money paid to women could 'become a menace to the re-absorption of men now in the Services'.¹²⁹ The view of the committee was that these new women entrants had drifted into the profession and may not want to drift out again, destroying the 'closed shop' status.¹³⁰ Peacocke continued her support of women entrants and the committee later agreed 'a special effort should be made to recruit women journalists as members of the institute'.¹³¹ This way they could ensure that new entrants upheld the aims for a higher status by the IOJ.

Later reports showed that the IOJ did support women who became members. The 1943 Post War Committee Interim Report refers to a case in Manchester where newspapers were reluctant to hire qualified women to fill the gaps left by men going into national service.

It was considered that there has been a disinclination on the part of the big dailies to fill the vacancies on the editorial staff by appointing women, except for what is regarded as purely women's work or for semi-reporting work such as taking copy over the telephone.¹³²

It emphasised that this was a situation which was not acceptable and that 'women should be treated as journalists and not as being in competition with men'.¹³³ But ironically the IOJ support of women here was in the very manner its own Post-War Conditions Committee had initially feared would hurt the profession. The actions of these newspapers illustrated that women's acceptance was largely still in 'feminine' jobs, but also that the IOJ did intend to assist women who were bona fide members.¹³⁴

¹²⁷ Institute of Journalists: Post-war Conditions Committee: 9th July 1942.

¹²⁸ Post-war Conditions Committee: A General Interim Report. July 1943. p. 15.

¹²⁹ Post-war Conditions Committee: A General Interim Report. July 1943. p. 15.

¹³⁰ Mansfield, F.J. (1943). *Gentlemen, the Press!* p.16.

¹³¹ Post-war Conditions Committee: Minutes of a Meeting held in the Hall of the Institute on Friday, 9th December 1943.

¹³² Post-war Conditions Committee: July 1943. p. 15.

¹³³ Post-war Conditions Committee: A General Interim Report. July 1943. p. 15.

¹³⁴ The placement of women in the private sphere begins in education where from an early age they are taught appropriate 'feminine' behaviour. The notion of what was 'appropriate' was reflected in the schools curriculum for education and was addressed in the Education Act of 1944 (Butler Act), which aimed to re-dress matters of equality and to reward personal achievements irrespective of social constructions, including gender. (Skelton, C. (1997). *Women and Education*. In Richardson, D and Robinson, V. (Eds.). *Introducing Women's*

The opportunities that occurred here must be put in perspective. Women were still not recognised as making a significant contribution to journalism, books such as *Gentlemen, the Press!* (1943), has only one reference to a woman journalist.¹³⁵ Information collated from the IOJ *Grey Book* also displays, in Appendix 5.2, that in the ratio of women to men as members of the profession in 1938, women still only made up a small percent. However evidence from the Association of Golf Writers does show that when the association was formed in 1938, one of the original 17 applications was Miss Betty Debenham of the *Daily Sketch* and then the *Irish Times*.¹³⁶ She attended the first committee meeting and was immediately given membership, satisfying the entry requirements, which stated she must have been making her living writing men's and women's golf, a major step for a woman sports writer, as women were believed to be confined to covering only women's sports. Eleanor Helme was among a further seven elected. So where general progress was slow and women sports writers were still exceptional, they did keep appearing and forming careers.

Pollard was another writer whose work emerged strongly at this time. As well as her journals *Women's Hockey* and *Women's Cricket* her writing for the *Girls Own Paper* (1940) was an example of how the desire for women and girls to participate in sport was the same as that which drove them to take more active roles in war time. The *Girls Own Paper* was aimed at pre-teen/early teen girls, the front covers were usually sketches of girls playing sports. For example January 1940 shows a girl playing hockey, smiling and clearly enjoying the experience. The content is targeting adventurous and open-minded girls, shown by such articles as Pollard's 'How to Play Hockey' and the fictional tales are active, like 'Island of Adventure', or ones to broaden the mind like 'Christmas in Other Lands'.¹³⁷ The sporting theme is continued with depictions of girls playing hockey, lacrosse, tennis or badminton on the front cover until the war when the girls were pictured in uniforms. By November 1940 the focus had switched from sport to war, but the tone remained one of activity continued in

Studies. (2nd edit.). London: Macmillan. p. 305.) Yet, however, much it was recognised in practical ways the social conditioning of women was by this time already a part of how she and wider society viewed her. The effects of the Butler Act arguably eventually showed some improvement in the social education of women, but at this time the constructs of 'femininity' had a profound effect on the way they were accepted in employment.

¹³⁵ Mansfield, F.J. (1943). *Gentlemen, the Press!*

¹³⁶ Letter from Marc Garrod, Secretary of the AGW February 1997.

articles such as those encouraging girls to swim, alongside those detailing how they could help out in the war effort.¹³⁸

While women were encouraged to have an active role in the war effort, in the period following, the fears which embodied the IOJ's Post-War Committee became apparent. There was a strong desire to return to 'normality' and establish a sense of stability after the upheaval of war. This had dire consequences for women who had found a place in the public 'masculine' sphere of work. In the 1950s women who remained in traditionally male areas of employment were seen as a threat to the search for stability, because they prevented returning service men from taking up the jobs they had left behind, delaying the reinstatement of 'normality'. This backlash against women in the public sphere was reflected in women's magazines and advertisements which strongly advised them that their 'true' place in the home by portraying products in such a way that would make this return seem more appealing. A 1947 Royal Commission noted '6 million' women were reading magazines every day and a study by Cynthia White, *The Periodical Press in Britain* (1977) revealed how as this backlash arose in the commercial aspects of the magazines with an emphasis on home-oriented women. The output of magazines by the mid-fifties were heavily focused on the domestic responsibilities of women, with paid work outside of the home regularly discouraged by columnists.¹³⁹

For women in a highly gendered profession, like journalism, De Beauvoir describes this as 'a mentally harassing situation' because they were being held back by the 'personal burden implied traditionally by her femininity'.¹⁴⁰ This was evident in Goodman's biography who was aware of the implications of her femininity when her arrival in the reporter's room was received with a mixture of 'mock courtesy' and 'tolerant amusement' and 'spiced with suspicion at a female's intrusion into their rough man's world'.¹⁴¹ Friedan argues *The 'Feminine' Mystique* (1963) that this shift in the organisation of society signalled an increase

¹³⁷ (1940). *Girls Own Paper*. January. vol. 60. p. 5.

¹³⁸ (1941). *Girls Own Paper*. August. vol. 62.

¹³⁹ White, C. (1977). *The Women's Periodical Press in Britain 1946 - 1976*. Royal Commission on the Press, Working Paper Number 4. p. 10.

¹⁴⁰ De Beauvoir, S. (1988). *The Second Sex*. p. 706.

in women questioning the assumptions of 'feminine' identity. A predicament she initially calls 'the problem that has no name', and later distinguishes as the 'feminine' mystique' is based on the 'discrepancy' in their lives between the 'reality' and 'the image to which' they 'were trying to conform'.¹⁴² The discrepancy was men wanting a return to pre-war jobs, in contrast to women's newly found assertion in the work place, but a new re-emphasis on 'femininity' was challenging their progress once again.

This backlash began with the return of the men who it was argued had 'harboured traditional notions about a "woman's place" throughout their exile'.¹⁴³ If women were now occupying their jobs, were those roles now considered 'women's work, which was traditionally low paid and lacked the authority of 'men's work'.¹⁴⁴ The sense of nostalgia was combined with the resentment that women now competing with them for employment opportunities and thus the desire to reassert 'the pre-war roles' saw an swing towards a general insistence that women went about 'their 'proper' business' of 'running a home and raising a family'.¹⁴⁵ However, women in the wars had been shown their potential in other aspects of working life, and they would be unlikely to want to immediately return to the traditional duties of the housewife.¹⁴⁶

The question is how did this affect women writers? Donald Read in *The Power of News: The History of Reuters 1849-1989* (1992) notes of the case of women at Reuters, that 'few were recruited after the war'.¹⁴⁷ The author argues in the post war era the likelihood of their continuation at Reuters was the exception, rather than the rule. Regardless of the success of some women, like Bayliss at Reuters, the returning men did take back their jobs. Although the membership of the IOJ permitted women members, the membership requirements were difficult for women to achieve. The mandate was that members had to be 21, with

¹⁴¹ Goodman, J. (1973). *Anything but Housework*. p.25.

¹⁴² Friedan, B. (1963). *The Feminine Mystique*. London: Penguin. pp. 9-13.

¹⁴³ White, C. (1977). *The Women's Periodical Press*. p. 10.

¹⁴⁴ Witz, A. (1997). Women and Work. In Richardson, D and Robinson, V. (Eds.). *Introducing Women's Studies*. (2nd edit.). London: Macmillan. p. 243.

¹⁴⁵ White, C. (1977). *Ibid*. p.10.

¹⁴⁶ Whelehan, I. (1995). *Modern Feminist Thought*. p. 6.

¹⁴⁷ Read, D. (1992). *The Power of News*. p. 151.

three years professionally, habitually, and as his sole or chief occupation, engaged upon the staff of a journal in the capacity of editor, writer or leading, special, or other articles, corresponding, artist or literary manager, assistant editor, sub-editor.¹⁴⁸

In the first instance, many of these positions were still not open to women and sub-editing was still believed to be unsuitable for women, as Stott had complained. Also with most women having to build their careers as freelancers, it was hard to prove three years of staff experience. The *Grey Book* in 1951 lists only one woman as a council member for the Institute, showing that for some reason they were either not being accepted or not joining.¹⁴⁹ The description of membership given by the IOJ could only really be achieved by training as a journalist and finding a staff position. Yet because of the apprenticeship system training would have to change for women to find equality. There were numerous Royal Commissions on the Press, particularly 1947 and 1949 to discuss journalism in society and training was a key topic in both, but critics argued they failed to give it 'close attention'.¹⁵⁰ It wasn't until the 1950s when the first signs of a move to formalise training procedures occurred. Viscount Kemsley, the owner of a chain of newspapers, spoke of the importance of the correct form of training for those in the industry in his book, mainly because of the fact there were no formal methods in the diploma course earlier available at the London University, which had 'failed because of its lack of practical instruction'.¹⁵¹ In *The Kemsley Manual of Journalism* (1950), which was intended for educational purposes, he states

There is no more important responsibility to the community than that of journalists; and if the public is to be fully and accurately informed of the world's news, their education standards must be high and their training thorough.¹⁵²

These ideas combined with the recommendations of the 1949 Royal Commission on the Press were consolidated into the form of the National Council for the Training of Journalists in 1952 when entry qualifications were finally introduced. But the proposals for training were still based on apprenticeship schemes which would be a six month series of probation, followed by an indenture of three years to the newspaper at an agreed rate. It was felt this

¹⁴⁸ (1951). Institute of Journalists. *Grey Book*. p.11.

¹⁴⁹ (1951). Institute of Journalists. *Grey Book*. p.41.

¹⁵⁰ Unesco. (1958). *The Training of Journalists*: p. 209.

¹⁵¹ Kemsley, Viscount. (Ed.). (1950). *The Kemsley Manual of Journalism*. London: Cassell & Co. Ltd. p. v.

¹⁵² Kemsley, Viscount. (Ed.). (1950). *Ibid*. p. v.

would give newspapers the security that they would keep the staff they had trained and for the trainee they would get guaranteed levels of pay. The UNESCO report on training in 1958 supported the move towards combined training in areas such as, shorthand, typewriting, English Literature and Language, local government and law and the apprenticeship method. This system of apprenticeship, with the trainee learning under the guidance of senior staff, while reviewing the situation in their studies, was still felt to be the best way of learning the trade.¹⁵³ There were no guarantees for women that this new apprenticeship system would be any easier to access now than it was when it was the main method of entry as an informal arrangement previously. The profession remained male dominant and still largely hostile to women entrants. The UNESCO report recognises this as one of the major problems in the industry and stated any restrictions on entry 'would run counter to the right of freedom of expression and infringe the liberty of the press'.¹⁵⁴ Despite the new training procedures and the warnings that women should be fully included within them, for women in sports writing freelancing remained the most likely option.

Freelancing was also Graham's recommendation in her section on sports writing in *Journalism for Women* (1949) the optimism of a woman gaining employment is tempered by the realisation that they would be unlikely to find employment initially on a staff basis. She recommended that hopeful writers get established as 'freelancers' by finding and building their own sporting contacts so that they would have something different to offer and editor. But the 'play to write' issue continued for women, even in her optimism she believed sporting knowledge was not enough for women 'to be really good' it was necessary to have 'made some mark in the game'.¹⁵⁵ Personal expertise in sports continued to be upheld as the best means of gaining employment in the profession, but that was about to change. Sports writing and sports sections in newspapers were continuing to evolve with even more emphasis on the competitive nature of sport. In *Reuters Century of Great British Sport* (1999) it noted sport 'moved out of the age of pure amateurism, shrugged off its garden fete

¹⁵³ Unesco. (1958). United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. (1958). *The Training of Journalists: A World-Wide Survey on the Training of Personnel for the Mass Media*. Holland: published by Unesco *The Training of Journalists*. p.31.

¹⁵⁴ Unesco. (1958). *The Training of Journalists*. p. 12

¹⁵⁵ Graham, M. (1949). *Journalism for Women*. London: Werner Laurie. p. 74.

atmosphere and commercialised major occasions'.¹⁵⁶ It describes the change in sport in these terms:

It came like a swelling sea, wave upon wave of action and excitement, with an ever increasing number of spectators drawn in by the fantasy and the revelry of British Sport as it gathered unprecedented momentum in a decade of growth and spectacle. Sport, for more people than ever before, became an important part of their lives. It commanded news coverage. It became professionalised on a more serious level. The men who were heroes became stars, even legends. Names like Roger Bannister and Stanley Matthews were to be as common on the front page of newspapers as the back. Television arrived, too, and took sport with it into the sitting rooms of the nation. Weekends were never to be the same again.¹⁵⁷

With the introduction of television came changes in sports and its media. Sport was cheap and easy to broadcast and suited television, its expansion was huge with only 10% of the population owning televisions in 1950 and only 10 percent not owning by 1960.¹⁵⁸ Whannel argues in *Fields in Vision* (1992) that television, in association with sponsorship has been responsible for changing the face of sport in the last 25 years.¹⁵⁹ It brought money which altered the professional focus of sports, while in newspapers the sports section was undergoing many changes in order to compete. Journalists were being named, but the style of writing had not yet begun to reform and the articles still adhered to the match reporting format.¹⁶⁰ Yet newspapers were now forced to compete with the immediacy of televised sport and they moved away from the regimented up-and-down column style and became more fluent. This style which cut across columns in a more reader-friendly manner, meant that sport was also being viewed with a new perspective. As a result the sports pages also grew. For example *The People* had four pages dedicated to sport, and increased its coverage from 600,000 in 1924 to 4, 600, 00 in 1946 and by 1950 over a third of the paper was on sport, with the major emphasis on male professional football.¹⁶¹

But the changes meant a reduction in women's sports, and this meant a reduction in the opportunities women players had found reporting on their own sporting interests in the first

¹⁵⁶ Newlin, M. and Collins, T. (1999). *Reuters Century*. p. 72.

¹⁵⁷ Newlin, M and Collins, T. (1999). *Ibid*. p. 72.

¹⁵⁸ Holt, R. (1989). *Sport and the British*: p. 317.

¹⁵⁹ Whannel, G. (1992). *Fields in Vision: Television Sport and Cultural Transformation*. London: Routledge. p. 2.

¹⁶⁰ Though this should have made it easier to find women writers the practice of using male pseudonyms was still in practice. Information in the Society of Women Journalists archives suggest this was a common occurrence for women to hide their gender in this way.

¹⁶¹ Holt, R. (1989). *Sport and the British*: p. 309.

half of the century. However a chapter entitled *The Women Reporter*, in Kemsley's *The Kemsley Manual of Journalism*, stated that women had made the breakthrough, and although in 1900 women journalists were as rare as women doctors, they were now 'accepted without question as an integral part of every daily and weekly newspaper', with 500 members of the London Women's Press Club, three to four women general reporters and women's specialists on most national newspapers. He suggests that editors now realised the importance of women readers in all areas of a newspaper, 'even in sport'.¹⁶² But the optimism in sport was not reflected in the newspapers or biographies studied for this research, even though women like Leitch, Whethered, Helme, Stringer and Pollard had found a way in by demonstrating authority on the sports they had played and ones that were accepted for women in the sporting press. If the sports pages were now largely 'absorbed by the majority sports of racing, football, cricket or tennis' this factor, coupled with the belief that only men could write authoritatively on male sports, saw the small openings that women had found would be reduced.¹⁶³ The 1956 *Observer* search illustrates how the content of the sports page was male-dominated with 15 articles on male-only sport, three on mixed sex/general issues and none on female sport. Women's inclusion remained in the mixed sex/general category, which consisted of the result of one ladies match in the lacrosse section. The concept that women did not take sport as seriously as men continued to hinder their professional development, even Graham who was optimistic of women's chance of success, argues that this was why there were not more women sports writers at the time.¹⁶⁴ According to books like Jeremy Tunstall's, *Newspaper Power: The New National Press in Britain* (1996), women were still not visible in the 1950s or 1960s in a traditionally 'masculine' specialism, such as football, and fashion remained the only field dominated by women.¹⁶⁵ Women in the sports writing profession were still largely 'invisible', and all 55 sports reporters at the *Sun*, for example, were male.

¹⁶² Kemsley, Viscount. (Ed.). (1950). *The Kemsley Manual*. p. 305/309.

¹⁶³ Kemsley, Viscount. (Ed.). (1950). *Ibid*. p. 73.

¹⁶⁴ Graham, M. (1949). *Journalism for Women*. p. 75.

¹⁶⁵ Tunstall, J. (1996). *Newspaper Power: The New National Press in Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p.138.

Again the few women who did emerge were still women who had to prove their expertise. Rachel Heyhoe-Flint, international hockey player and cricketer was the most visible new woman writer to emerge in this period. Heyhoe-Flint, like Helme came from the 'unique position' of simultaneously playing and writing. She states

I have been, and still am, in the almost unique position of simultaneously playing and writing about cricket and hockey. It has got me into some odd situations, and at times inflicted quite a strain on both sides of my sporting life. But it has given me a fascinating and valuable insight.¹⁶⁶

Cricket and hockey remained suitable sports for women and the development of women's cricket continued with the establishment of the International Women's Cricket Council in 1958.¹⁶⁷ Although she had playing experience to qualify her expertise, she still had problems finding work. She began her career by working freelance for a local sports agency to cover women's hockey and made her first attempt at gaining a staff job by ringing the editor of the local paper, *The Wolverhampton Express and Star* to suggest his newspaper 'couldn't exist without a woman on their sports desk'.¹⁶⁸ But she says she 'was left with the distinct impression that the sports editor at the time was not very enthusiastic about the idea of a female sports writer on his staff'.¹⁶⁹ In this example, there was no space for a female voice on sport, even a qualified one, which was solely limited to women's sport. Later finding work there she notes she did have to battle 'against the prejudices of the sports editor' as he refused 'accept that women's sport in general was news, and therefore considered it unworthy of space in his paper'.¹⁷⁰ Her first experience in televised sport was as a summariser at a Women's Hockey International at Wembley. As an ex-international herself she felt more than qualified, but the television executives did not and she had to be 'smuggled' in by the commentator Neil Durden Smith and approach the interview as though she had accidentally stopped by the broadcasters booth.¹⁷¹

Like Heyhoe -Flint, other women who were building careers at this time were still ex-sports women, but those who were exceptional. For example, International swimmer, Anita

¹⁶⁶ Heyhoe-Flint, R. (1978). *Heyhoe! The Autobiography of Rachel Heyhoe-Flint*. London: Pelham Books. p. 146.

¹⁶⁷ Hargreaves, Jennifer. (1994). *Sporting Females*. p. 276.

¹⁶⁸ Heyhoe-Flint, R. (1978). *Ibid.* p. 146.

¹⁶⁹ Heyhoe-Flint, R. (1978). *Ibid.* p. 146.

¹⁷⁰ Heyhoe-Flint, R. (1978). *Ibid.* p. 149.

Lonsborough, a questionnaire respondent, who was also an athlete at the top of her field, was offered work by the *Sunday Telegraph* when she retired from competitive swimming in the mid 1960s.¹⁷² She was another ex-champion who came to sports writing after winning seven gold, three silver and two bronze medals in major games as an international swimmer. She was also sportswoman of the year for two years and was BBC Sports Personality of the Year in 1962. Elizabeth Price-Fisher, was the 1959 Women's golf British Champion, and it was this success that she felt qualified her to write on sport; 'I played golf at international level so I knew what I was writing about'.¹⁷³ She also began working for the *Daily Telegraph's* as women's golf correspondent around the same time at the end of her career, but she remained confined to reporting on female sports only. Sport was still largely a gendered organisation in Britain, which was the 'only nation which retained separate organisations' in athletics.¹⁷⁴ The sports books by women studied in this period show the forewords were often by male experts in the appropriate field, suggesting the female voice still required masculine justification when writing on sporting matters. In Enid Wilson's *A Gallery of Women Golfers* (1961), the foreword is by Bernard Darwin who qualifies her ability stating 'everything she says about the game is well worth listening to, for she 'knows her stuff'', which is high praise considering he is credited by St John as the 'father of Golf writing' and also the Vice-President of the Ladies Golf Union.¹⁷⁵ In Heyhoe-Flint and Reinburg's *Fair Play: The Story of Women's Cricket* (1976) player, Colin Cowdrey, and commentator, Brian Johnson, write the foreword. Cowdrey writes they will help to 'spread the gospel of women's cricket', while Brian Johnson comments, 'they've got quite a lot to teach us men', a first sign the future for women writers was nearing a time when they could transcend the gender divide in sports writing.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷¹ Heyhoe-Flint, R. (1978). *Heyhoe!* p. 139.

¹⁷² Anita Lonsborough. Information from questionnaire response.

¹⁷³ Elizabeth Price-Fisher. Information from questionnaire response.

¹⁷⁴ Mason, T. (Ed.). (1989). *Sport in Britain*. p. 63. And Welch, D. (Ed). (1998). *The Daily Telegraph - Century of Sport*.

¹⁷⁵ Wilson, E. (1961). *A Gallery*. p. 7/ 8. And St John, L. (1995). *Out of Bounds. Inside Professional Golf*. London: Patridge Press. p. 63.

¹⁷⁶ Heyhoe-Flint, R. and Rheinburg, N. (1976). *Fair Play: The Story of Women's Cricket*. London: Angus and Robertson, p.11/12.

In comparison, not only were many of the men who undertook sports writing not ex-players, they were also often not even journalists. Glanville notes in his review of the quality of sports writing that the *Observer* from around 1956 employed 'intellectual heavyweights who were delighted to write football reports' something he argues they did 'very badly'.¹⁷⁷ He lists men such as

professor AJ Ayer, famed then not only as a logical positivist but as a Spurs fan and a friend of the team captain Danny Blanchflower; John Sparrow, the Warden of All Souls and an expert on buggery in the writings of DH Lawrence; John Jones, author of a study of Wordsworth; all these writers were used by the *Observer's* then sports editor, Micheal Davie. All emerged as dilettantes. Nor were things any better at the *Sunday Times*, where an academic called John Sellars was appointed football correspondent after he chanced to meet the paper's editor, Henry Hodson, on a train from Oxford to London.¹⁷⁸

The evidence of the background of these men throws the argument against women as sports writers into dispute. His descriptions of these men reveals none of them have played the game at any serious level and yet they are accepted by newspapers with ease, while women must continually battle the suspicions about their playing abilities and sporting knowledge.

Although many factors had changed for women in sport and society, the gendered nature of the profession had not. Kay Mills wrote that by the 1960s the feeling in the industry was still that 'journalism was no place for a lady'.¹⁷⁹ The backlash against women in the late 1950s/mid 1960s continued until the feminist movements of the sixties and the swing towards equality and advance of the second wave of feminism. The mid 1960s saw women 'broaden opportunities for their self expression' in both their personal and professional lives.¹⁸⁰ As the first wave had helped them to see they had a function in the public sphere by winning the vote, the second inspired them to fight for equality into the other areas of public life, as the suffragettes had suggested. However, an article in *The Presswoman*, entitled 'What would Mrs Pankhurst Think of Us?' complains at how little women in journalism have

¹⁷⁷ Glanville, B. (1995). Still Looking for an Idiom. *Prospect*. October, Vol.1, p. 47.

¹⁷⁸ Glanville, B. (1995). Still Looking for an Idiom. p. 47.

¹⁷⁹ Mills, K. (1990). *A Place in the News: From the Women's Pages to the Front Page*. New York: Columbia University Press. p. 80.

¹⁸⁰ Mrozek, D. (1987). The 'Amazon' and the American 'Lady' Sexual Fears of Women as Athletes. In Mangan, J. and Park, R. (Eds.) *From 'fair sex' to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras*. London: Frank Cass and Company Limited. p. 294.

progressed in gaining equality despite the first wave.¹⁸¹ The author notes she was told in the newspaper office where she began her career that 'there was no such thing as inequality for women', a comment she found over optimistic after working in the industry herself.¹⁸²

As before, progress for women did not just happen and was not without difficulties. Barr argues that the first anti-discrimination legislation, which appeared in the late 1960s was ridiculed in the press. She says

the press thought the whole movement was terribly funny. Sample headlines read: 'Whatever do the birds want now?'; 'Here come the petticoat executives - watch out lads'; 'Libbing it up with the libbers'; 'Ministers promise to give the girls a boost'.¹⁸³

Yet as early as 1963, despite finding the equality of women 'over optimistic', and the resistance in newspaper articles, *The Presswoman* argued that women were beginning to have a real impact, by breaking into 'other fields...as true equals'.¹⁸⁴ This optimism continued to rise in the 1970s, with the introduction of sex discrimination and equal opportunity legislation. Steady progress meant that by the mid-seventies women in paid work had grown 'by around 120,000 each year', illustrating how women were breaking free from the pressure of the ideological move to domesticity in the 1950s.¹⁸⁵ For example 'The Matrimonial Property Act' showed the legal advances women had made. It clarified

that a wife's work - whether in jobs outside of the home or as a housewife within it - was to be regarded as an equal contribution with that of the husband if, in the event of divorce, the family home had to be divided.¹⁸⁶

Other matters such as equal pay, were now a legitimate part of the political public agenda. A survey at Cardiff University in 1972 found in the case of journalism that there was a 17 per cent variance in wages.¹⁸⁷ The expectation among women and work was enhanced by the Equal Pay Act of 1970, which came into effect on 1 January 1976. The independence of women was reflected in books such as Germaine Greer's *The Female Eunuch*, which was said to challenge 'the masculine world with an erudite critique of the way it stereotypes

¹⁸¹ (1963). What would Mrs Pankhurst think of Us? *The Presswoman*. February. p. 10.

¹⁸² (1963). *The Presswoman*. February. p. 10.

¹⁸³ Barr, P. (1977). Newspapers. In King, J. and Stott, M. (Eds). *Is this your Life? Images of Women in the Media*. London: Virago. p. 71.

¹⁸⁴ (1963). *The Presswoman*. February. p. 10.

¹⁸⁵ Rowbotham, S. (1999). *A Century of Women..* p. 413.

¹⁸⁶ Heald, H. (Ed.). (2000). *Britain's Century*. p. 158.

¹⁸⁷ Marzolf, M. (1977). *Up From the Footnote*. p. 294.

women's roles', by events such as the 'biggest ever women's liberation march' staged in 1971, and the marking of 1975 as International Women's Year.¹⁸⁸ On this basis the move towards parity with men seemed to become a reality.

The most significant piece of legislation for women emerged in 1974 when the government proposed a series of women's rights reforms aimed at fighting sex discrimination in employment, education and training. This resulted in the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act which made 'it an offence to discriminate against women in employment, education, training and trade union activities and in the supply of goods, facilities and services'.¹⁸⁹ These moves prevented job advertisements from specifying the sex of applicants and removing other methods that were used to 'protect' the women from undertaking 'men's' jobs which were unsuitable for them.¹⁹⁰ This transformation was reflected in their numbers in journalism, with an increase of about 10 per cent from the early 1960s to 1974.¹⁹¹ In wider society the change in mood was emphasised by the decision of the methodist church to ordain female ministers and the appointment of Margaret Thatcher in 1975 as the first woman to lead a British Political Party.¹⁹²

Women were gaining employment in many traditionally male jobs and newspapers often focused on articles about those who were the 'first' to enter and portrayed their success as 'exceptional'. Barr describes the reports as biased.

They are often angled to show just how 'exceptional' the women is and how amazing it is that she can do the job as capably and competently as a man. Invariably a large part of the interview focuses on the women's personal and family life rather than on the demands of the job itself. If she is married, her husband's attitude to her elevation is often sought. If she has a family the most frequent question is how she tackles the conflicting demands made by them and by her work.¹⁹³

For example, articles in the *Observer* review, such as 'The Amazing Dedication of Two Middle Distance Runners' (1977) highlights two top class runners, but the focus is on their

¹⁸⁸ Heald, H. (Ed.). (2000). *Britain's Century*. p. 158, 160, 168.

¹⁸⁹ Heald, H. (Ed.). (2000). *Ibid.* p. 168.

¹⁹⁰ *Sex Discrimination- A Guide to the Sex Discrimination Act 1975*. Home Office reprinted with Amendments 1978. And Marzolf, M. (1977). *Up From the Footnote*. p. 295.

¹⁹¹ Marzolf, M. (1977). *Ibid.* p. 270.

¹⁹² Heald, H. (Ed.). (2000). *Ibid.* p. 158/170.

¹⁹³ Barr, P. (1977). *Newspapers*. p. 72.

personal lives.¹⁹⁴ Its placement alongside a similar style article on two top businesswomen in Hong Kong shows the focus is on the 'exceptional' nature of successful career women. Even as top-class athletes they are profiled for being female, as its sub-heading 'the training, working, cooking, cleaning life of the truly Amateur Athlete' suggests. Lynne Edmunds, also looks at the domestic side of the lives of 'exceptional' women in her profile on the first female jockeys - 'Saddling Up, Ready to make Flat Racing History' (1972) - as she considers their personal profile, but also details the background to their struggle to compete in this area.¹⁹⁵ Another article by Edmunds, 'Women Face a Challenge in the Mountains' (1977), looks at the women who are setting off on an mountaineering expedition and details their hopes, fears and ambitions, in addition to raising the problems for an all women-team, of the perception by the wider public of their ability to succeed.¹⁹⁶

However the profiling of exceptional women by other women sports writers did highlight their success in sporting and social terms. Articles such as, 'A Bit of Old Heave Ho', on Rachel Heyhoe- Flint detailed her struggles and career success, as part of a series in 1973 on the 'Heroines of British Sports'.¹⁹⁷ Another profile in 1977 'Air Lady Explains: Why I Lived Dangerously' is also on an exceptional woman aviator and racing driver.¹⁹⁸ An article by Kahn was on a woman who took an allegation of sex discrimination against Richmond Borough Council for not hiring her as a golf professional when she was the most qualified for the job, and for the type of sexist questions she was asked at the interview. Another article looks at how a female golf professional was forced to buy her own golf course in order to gain employment.¹⁹⁹ The foreword in Heyhoe-Flint's autobiography implies a more direct

¹⁹⁴ Groome, A. (1977). The Amazing Dedication of Two Middle Distance Runners. *Daily Telegraph*. 25 August. p. 11.

¹⁹⁵ Edmunds, L. (1972). Saddling up, Ready to make Flat Racing History. *Daily Telegraph*. 28 April. p. 17.

¹⁹⁶ Edmunds, L. (1977). Women face a challenge in the Mountains. *Daily Telegraph*. 23 June. p. 17.

¹⁹⁷ Hamilton, A. (1973). A Bit of the Old Heave Ho. *Guardian*. 22 June. p.11.

¹⁹⁸ Edmunds, L. (1977). An Air Lady Explains: Why I Lived Dangerously. *Daily Telegraph*. 4 April. p. 11.

¹⁹⁹ Pannick, D. (1981). How the FA Kicks Girl Footballers off the Park. *Guardian*. 16 November. p. 9; And Glover, T. (1990). Rough Ride on the not-so Fairways. *Independent*. 19 December. p. 30.

connection to feminism, when the writer Eric Morecambe states that her achievements as a player have struck a 'formidable blow for women's Liberation'.²⁰⁰

In journalism, 'women firsts' can be seen by Heyhoe-Flint breaking into the male reserve of sub-editing at the *Express and Star* in the late 1960s.²⁰¹ Also in 1967 Miss Marguerite Peacocke was appointed the first woman president of the IOJ, with 30 years of experience as a journalist behind her.²⁰² Her words at her first speech to the annual conference reveal crucial aspects of the effects of the second wave of feminism. In this opportunity to address a large part of the industry she states her belief that gender differences that had been emphasised in the past had been vastly exaggerated and were rapidly vanishing'.²⁰³ Her own position of power is evidence in itself that the gender barriers were beginning to diminish.

For women in sports journalism this was a period when woman achieved a variety of 'firsts' themselves. The periodical search identified women such as Joanna Kilmartin, Shirley Brasher, Genevieve Murphy, Lewine Mair and Lynne Edmunds. All - with the exception of Edmunds at the *Daily Telegraph* and Mair at the *Times* - began writing for the *Observer* in the early 1970s. Mair was a talented young golfer herself when she began drawing caricatures of well-known golfers and personalities, such as one of Enid Wilson which appeared in *Fairway & Hazard* in 1964, and this eventually led to her moving into sports writing.²⁰⁴ She would later become the first female staff sports writer at the *Times*. In addition, by 1979 three of the four new members of the Association of Golf Writers were women.²⁰⁵ There were others like, Pat Besford, a successful swimmer who became an accredited swimming correspondent for the *Daily Sketch* during the 1960 Olympics, and regularly reported on her sport for the *Daily Telegraph* for over 20 years. Appendix 8.5.1 demonstrates that in the 1970s they were writing on subjects such as men's cricket, football, boxing and athletics. This

²⁰⁰ Heyhoe-Flint, R. (1978). *Heyhoe!* p. 11.

²⁰¹ Heyhoe-Flint, R. (1978). *Ibid.* p. 14.

²⁰² Bainbridge, C. (1984). *One Hundred Years of Journalism*. p. 114.

²⁰³ (1967). Annual Conference minutes of the Institute of Journalists.

²⁰⁴ Mair, L. (1980). *The Dunlop Lady Golfer's Companion*. Suffolk, Lavenham: Eastland Press.

²⁰⁵ Letter from Marc Garrod, Hon Secretary. February 13 1997.

is not to say they moved away from the sports originally established for women, nor did they stop covering women's sports. Appendix 8.4.2 and 8.5.2 demonstrates these were still popular areas, but in the later decades they claimed their voice in a broader context.

The fundamental differences with the women who emerged in the 1970s was that most had no sporting credentials to give their voice authority, unlike their counterparts in the first part of the century. There were still those who did have a sporting background, usually those who were writing 'match reports. Besford and Brasher wrote on their own sports for example Besford's work for the *Daily Telegraph* importantly covered reports from men's and women's swimming, showing she had broken down earlier prejudices. Also she was treated equally with the male writers in the newspapers, and given the same size letter heading, good locations and space. Brasher was an ex-tennis player (Shirley Bloomer, married to the Chris Brasher, athletics correspondent and later Sports Editor of the *Observer* for 30 years), held the British, French, and Italian lawn tennis championships and went on to cover men's and women's lawn tennis for the *Observer*.²⁰⁶ She was given the same amount of respect and occupied a regular place in the section. In February 1974, she was given her own small heading 'Lawn Tennis - Shirley Brasher - Over the Wobbles of Wimbledon'. This was significant because although, like the earlier women sports writers she entered the profession on the back of her sporting career, her title in the newspaper was not qualified with statements of her past achievements, as occurred with Leitch and Whethered's work. Her work covered both women and men's events in Lawn Tennis, such as 'Over and Out' on the Men's Singles Rothman's International Tennis Tournament.²⁰⁷ The background of Kilmartin and Murphy are significantly not known, showing they did not need a sporting qualification to write. Murphy was a show-jumping correspondent, whose articles were regularly featured and often given value with action photos and large heading; Kilmartin's success in the *Observer* is again visible in the size of the header she is given and the wide range of subjects she is writing on from athletics, point-to-point racing and yachting. When she writes on women's sports she is able to do so with a positive representation of women. In an article, 'A Slim Life

²⁰⁶ Wilson, P. (1977). *The Man they couldn't Gag: An Autobiography*. London: Hutchinson Stanley Paul. p. 163.

²⁰⁷ (1973). *Observer*. 23 January. p. 20.

on the Ocean Wave' (1972) she is again covering the build-up to a race, but portrays women as sports women in a physical sense with no patronisation or glamorisation of their roles.²⁰⁸ Edmunds also showed the new diversification of writing on sport by women, because her work tended to revolve around issues in the women's movements and in some instances its relationship to sport. Her articles covered subjects such as a profile of the first female jockeys 'Saddling Up, Ready to Make Flat Racing History' (1972) and she also covered education, politics, and economics.²⁰⁹ All these women who were visible in the periodical index were regular correspondents on the sports papers without the constraints the earlier women had faced.

The most influential woman who began her career at this time was Julie Welch, the first woman to work as a reporter on male professional football. She began her career as a sports writer in August 1973, after winning the *Daily Telegraph* Young Writer of the Year while at University. Her winning work described the rebellion of her student university life. Although she states in her autobiography that winning the award got her nowhere in terms of helping her build her career, it does show the basis of her own rebellion in breaking the final frontier for women by becoming a football reporter, using only her talent for writing and her experiences as a football fan. She was first recorded in the subject periodical index on 9 December 1973 with the articles, 'A break in the Game' a feature which looked at player's injuries, and two others profiling football managers, a major format of her work. In addition to a main match report, the newspaper would often also include a piece of feature writing such as 'The Lords Day Observance Man' (1974), an interview with Bob Lord, vice-chairman of the Football League.²¹⁰ Welch was also successful in terms of equality in the newspaper with her male colleagues. The positioning of her work in the *Observer* was regularly on the first page of the sport section and she was given a picture and by-line in the same size and style as the four or five other regular male reporters, giving the reader confirmation of her ability and authenticity.²¹¹ Welch also used her high profile to dedicate a whole page of the

²⁰⁸ Kilmartin, J. (1972). A Slim Life on the Ocean Wave. *Observer*. 13 February. p. 19.

²⁰⁹ (1972). Edmunds, L. Saddling up, Ready to make Flat Racing History. *Daily Telegraph*. 28 April. 17.

²¹⁰ (1974). *Observer*. 4 February. p. 22.

²¹¹ (1973). *Observer*. 4 November.

Observer to the issues of women and sport.²¹² The second wave of feminism inspired them to fight for equality in covering the sports they loved as much as the male colleagues who reported on them. Although some still found a route in as ex-sports stars, there were now women who had not played the sport they covered and were just fans with a love of sport.

Women had finally begun to change the gendered play-to-write debate. The biographies of the male sports journalists studied for this research shows that none came from a sporting background and just valued sporting interest and working knowledge. For example, Simon Barnes notes *In a Sports Writers Year* that 'ability at sport is no guarantee of being able to write about sport'.²¹³ Alan Watkins, who was primarily a political journalist, stated Rugby was the only sport he felt he had enough knowledge to write about and he felt strongly about never pretending in his column for the *Independent*, to have 'knowledge' that he 'did not possess'.²¹⁴ The argument here is that it would be foolish to assume the ability to write without understanding the game, but a good writer is not necessarily an ex-player.

Journalistic ability, over sporting prowess, was also upheld by IOJ and NUJ. The IOJ had long objected to 'articles and commentaries by experts' and the 'apparent use of non-journalists to do the sports reporter's work'.²¹⁵ In support of those without playing backgrounds Barnes argues its like saying only 'actors who are also murderers are capable of playing Macbeth'.²¹⁶ Kahn agreed, stating it's 'like saying you can't write about the theatre if you haven't been an actor'.²¹⁷ Her confidence in her own authority can be seen in her biography on *Tony Jacklin* (1979) where there was no obvious qualification, other than the subject's permission to write his story.²¹⁸

²¹² Welch, J. (1979). *Women in Sport*. p. 30.

²¹³ Barnes, S. (1989). *A Sportswriters Year*. London: Heinemann, p. 150.

²¹⁴ Watkins, A. (1989). *Sports Writer's Eye: An Anthology*. London: MacDonald, Queen Anne Press. p. 5/87.

²¹⁵ Bundock, C. J. (1957). *The National Union of Journalists. A Jubilee History 1907 - 1957*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 195.

²¹⁶ Barnes, S. (1989). *A Sportswriters Year*. p. 150.

²¹⁷ Barnes, S. (1989). *Ibid*. p. 151. And Interview with Liz Kahn.

²¹⁸ Information from interview with Kahn.

Women now wanted a career based on their abilities strictly as writers and journalists. Welch wanted to be like the male writers she met early in her career at the *Observer* that inspired her:

It was only when I met those brilliant sports journalists I'd worshipped from reading the *Observer* - Hugh McIlvanney, Arthur Hopcraft, Chris Brasher, Clem Thomas - that I thought "I want to be like you."²¹⁹

They became the first ones to emerge with the motivation to fully confront the 'masculine' nature of restricted areas. In addition, they no longer intended to be restricted to writing on women's sports. Although this still remained a good area to access, there was now a generation who had grown up with the male dominant newspaper coverage and thus they wanted to cover what was the main sporting news. For example the 25 October 1964 edition contained three full pages of sport, but still there was only one female article on an individual sports woman - Anne Packer. In August 1972 there was only one female article on women's participation in the Olympics, other events reported on were male, looking at the evolution of the Olympics, professional soccer with some cricket and golf. Barnes argues in *A Sportswriters Year* (1989) that the industry did not want 'women's sport because they did 'not want to see strong-willed women in victory'.²²⁰ With no women's sports at the highest level, fans - boys and girls - followed male sports. Liz Kahn, a golf writer, explains she was drawn to cover male professional golf 'because there wasn't a lot of women's sports to cover' and that was how she became the first woman to write on male professional golf.²²¹ This was the first time women had to undertake the function of the expert and critic on male sporting achievements.

The female sporting voice was helped by the ever changing view of their place in organised sports. Of course women were not viewed as wholly equal in physical contests with man, indeed when women were shown as exceptional, competitors sex testing was brought in as evidence of the continued disbelief in their abilities.²²² However the moves towards the

²¹⁹ Coddington, A. (1997). *One of the Lads. Women who Follow Football*. London: HarperCollins Publishers. p. 176.

²²⁰ Barnes, S. (1989). *A Sportswriters Year*. London: Heinemann. p. 115.

²²¹ Interview with Liz Kahn.

²²² For example article such as "Ladies didn't run until 1928: now they face the sex test hurdle" - explain how the Tokyo games of 1964 were seen by many to be the end of the

'Sport for All' policy that was adopted by the Council for Europe between 1964 and 1971, showed a transition towards removing gender differences in sport, with its focus to help 'all citizens' irrespective of age, sex, occupation or means to understand the meaning of sport and to engage in it throughout their lives.²²³ The assumptions of this policy show progress in its inclusive remit of women and while it did not bring instant equality, the establishment of organisations, such as The Women's Football Association (WFA) (1969), the Ladies Jockey Association (1972), and the Women's Billiards and Snooker Association (1976), indicate women were becoming recognised and organised.²²⁴ In conjunction with the Sex Discrimination Act there were also women 'firsts' with the Nation Hunt races allowing women jockeys, such as Charlotte Brew on Barony Fort, was the first female in the Grand National in 1977.²²⁵ There is also some evidence that newspapers in the 1970s were demonstrating support for women's sport, borne out by the *Daily Telegraph's* 'Woman Golfer of the Year' award.²²⁶

But while the Sex Discrimination Act (SDA) helped women in both sporting and journalistic terms, it was flawed in its assistance. For example it continued to allow 'private and single sex clubs' to continue to have their own rules of access and it banned competition between men and women where 'the physical strength, stamina, or physique of the average woman puts her at a disadvantage to the average man' - something that became apparent when school girl Theresa Bennett challenged her right in 1978 to play football with the boys and lost in the Court of Appeal.²²⁷ Polley argues in *Moving the Goalposts*, that this was 'despite the physiological evidence used to show that pre-pubescent boys and girls should not be bound by the physical strength clause of the SDA'.²²⁸ Polley does state that it did achieve publicity for women's inequality in sport, although the case was lost. A similar case was also

"friendly" Games because they were the last time girls could compete without undergoing an independent sex test. *Guardian* (1978). p. 9

²²³ McIntosh, P. and Charlton, V. (1985). *The Impact of Sport for all Policy 1966 - 1984 And a Way Forward*. London: The Sports Council, and West London Institute of Higher Education. p. 110.

²²⁴ Polley, M. (1998). *Moving the Goalposts: A History of Sport and Society Since 1945*. London: Routledge. p.97.

²²⁵ Polley, M. (1998). *Ibid.* p. 97.

²²⁶ Mair, L. (1992). *One Hundred Years of Women's Golf*.

²²⁷ Polley, M. (1998). *Ibid.* p. 97.

²²⁸ Polley, M. (1998). *Ibid.* p. 97.

lost in 1981, when Jo Hughes was prevented from playing with her team in an Football Association (FA) Youth League and Cup Games because she was a girl. An FA official stated that 'girls can't play in boys' games...it would spoil the game'. However unfair this was to Jo, who was the team's current player of the month, the FA could not be fought by the sex discrimination act because

the Act does not affect the legality "in relation to any sport, game or other activity of a competitive nature where the physical strength, stamina or physique of the average woman puts her at a disadvantage to the average man".²²⁹

Thus although some of the boundaries had been broken down for women there were still gendered issues that were deeply buried and flawed legislation. While the periodical search provided valuable information as a guide to when women began to become more visible, the reliance on the cataloguer's view of what to include was subjective. For example, Kahn did not appear in the index until 1976, although she'd been writing since the late 1960s. It is interesting that her report indexed here was based on issues of equality which were a major contemporary focus. Her article 'Golfer, Viven finds it a tough course to play' looks at sex discrimination in employment as golf professionals.²³⁰

By this time the sports pages had grown to a fully identified page, due to the popularity of sports and the pressure to compete with television. The analysis of the *Observer* shows that from as early as 1964 sports was starting to become a well-defined part of the newspaper and by 4 November 1973 it was first displayed in its own defined section, rather than previous editions where it often shared the page with the appointments section.²³¹ It included a ½ inch lettering in a single line header stating 'Britain's top writers bring you the most informed and entertaining views in sport', and most crucially Welch was included here on a visibly equivalent basis with her male colleagues. As the profile of sport developed it followed that the value of the writers on the subject also became more important in the structure of the newspaper. Welch explains, in her autobiography, how the status of the sports writer started to become more important.

²²⁹ Pannick, D. (1981). How the FA Kicks Girl Footballers off the Park. *Guardian*. 16 Nov. p. 10.

²³⁰ Khan, L. (1976). Golfer, Viven finds it a Tough Course to Play. *Daily Telegraph*. 17 November. p. 17.

²³¹ (1964). *Observer*. 25 October.

In those days, top sportswriters were awarded not just a picture byline but a strap. In the tabloids, you would be invited to enjoy the aperçus [sic] of Dave Sleaze, The Man They Can't Gag. Populist broadsheets like the *Daily Express* would bring you the ravings of Campbell Mucky.²³²

This denotes the personal importance of the sports reporter to the reader, the close connection and the almost celebrity status. Yet of the women at this time only Welch regularly had a picture, showing quite clearly how she was the 'first' Fleet Street female football reporter.

But despite the moves forward for women, even those who had found success like Welch were not always accepted. Welch notes at first her male colleagues were polite until they realised she was going to stay.²³³ Coddington argues in *One of the Lads* (1997), her study of women in male professional football that Welch's presence here 'opened up a Pandora's box of male anxiety'.²³⁴ This was evident in an article in the television section of the *Times* written in 1968, entitled 'Two Sexes are Better than One' where the author considered the complications of gender in the media. He uses sports writing as an example of the absurd profession for women stating, 'I have no great wish to see a woman interviewing the Captain of the England rugger [sic] team after a match at Twickenham'.²³⁵ His use of the slang term 'rugger' for rugby suggests to the reader his own personal relationship to the sport, giving connotations of maleness. The presentation of male sport as an intimate realm of the 'masculine' preserve in this statement was intended to justify its treatment of women writers. For more women to join the exceptional women, like Welch and Kahn, not only did they need a 'better working environment' but also 'more 'female friendly' sports coverage'.²³⁶ If the small coverage of female sports stars was portrayed in a negative and demeaning manner, it was logical that women journalists would be disturbed about their own place. Those who did find success often did so after an exceptionally hard fight to find a job and still faced discrimination. They were often made to prove their sporting knowledge in more unofficial

²³² Welch, J. (1999). *Long Distance Information*. p. 62.

²³³ Coddington, A. (1997). *One of the Lads*. p. 174.

²³⁴ Coddington, A. (1997). *Ibid*. p. 174.

²³⁵ Billington, M. (1968). Two Sexes are better than One. *Times*. 16 March. p. 21.

²³⁶ Fitzhenry, M. (1990). *Stop Press. Sport & Leisure*. July/August. p. 35.

ways such as to a male interview subject before being given any information.²³⁷ It was discrimination of this wide spread and public level that Kahn complained obstructed women even when they were successful, because it prevented them from the career recognition they desired.²³⁸

The difference in the acceptance of men and women sports writers is evident in the biographies of both Welch and Wilson. While Welch has to continually confront lingering doubts about her writing, Wilson celebrates the fact that his influence is considered so authoritative he can affect what is included in the newspaper. Welch writes,

When men say nice things about my sports writing, it is usually on the lines of: 'You write just like a man, you wouldn't realise it was a woman at all.' What do they expect cookery hints in the second paragraph? Encomia about hairy chests? Well, yes, the hairy chest bit is just what they do expect, yet when it comes to that sort of inane drivel, it is the men who wax lyrical about 'tennis tigresses with the grey-green eyes' and the shapely legs of the winner of the ladies 1500 metres.²³⁹

Wilson viewed his outstanding journalistic achievement in getting 'reports of all-in-wrestling in the *Times*' and recognises his power to include subjects which he personally enjoyed.²⁴⁰

Gender differences did continue despite their significant challenge to the 'play-to-write' debate, and they remained evident in the training methods and entry to the profession. By this time the NCTJ had established the means and methods of training favoured by the newspapers for a new entrant. But in 1972 the NUJ had fought against women having the same access to the pre-entry training scheme and called for the abolition of the existing 25 per cent quota of women that had been established.²⁴¹ However, the general nature of the program meant that a writer wanting to train in a specialist area of the industry had to do so once established on a newspaper. There are no official figures to examine how women managed in the context of this type of apprenticeship measure, but a survey of women's employment in general in 1965 reveals only 1.8 % had apprenticeship training, 2.2%

²³⁷ Fitzhenry, M. (1990). Stop Press. *Sport & Leisure*. July/August. p. 35.

²³⁸ Interview with Liz Kahn.

²³⁹ Welch, J.(1979). *Women in Sport*. p. 30.

²⁴⁰ Wilson, P. (1977). *The Man they couldn't Gag: An Autobiography*. London: Hutchinson Stanley Paul. p. 25.

²⁴¹ ADM Equality. (1984). *Equality*.

Professional Training on the job and 8% Firm's own training scheme.²⁴² Even women who were getting training, could still not guarantee jobs and this meant women were unlikely to get hired what was the point in training them.²⁴³ The basic journalism training may have allowed women the occasion to compete with men on the same basis of initial entry in theory, but the traditional 'masculine' specialisms, like sport and the questioning of their ability to know about sports would still present an obstacle.²⁴⁴

As such it remained common for women to enter the profession by 'feminine' route, through informal training or freelancing. Welch argues, that the changes in training did not directly benefit her entrance to the profession, as she gained her first employment in journalism as a secretary. Kahn notes that she began her career in sports writing in the late 1960s not via any training scheme, but by more informal measures. She was trained by a friend of her brother's, who was himself a sports journalist. She recalls

he stuck me on a court at Wimbledon and said this is what you do. She states she 'just sort of shadowed him for a while ...I did what he told me and I put the copy over and he said this is how you write it.'²⁴⁵

Kahn was lucky enough to make her own opportunities and find a way in freelancing as a golf writer, which she did throughout her career.²⁴⁶ This was a situation many women found themselves in which is highlighted by the dedication of the Women's Press Club to the freelancers' needs. The club used to organise a 'freelance afternoon' where they could bring along any questions they had and help with concerns or legal questions.²⁴⁷ They also held Annual Freelance Dinners where the life of a freelancer would be explored in after dinner speeches.²⁴⁸ Both women made their way in by alternative routes to the official training schemes, illustrating the limitations of these training schemes.

²⁴² Hunt, A. (1968). *A Survey of Women's Employment: A Survey carried out on Behalf of the Ministry of Labour of the Government Social Survey in 1965. Vol. II: Tables*. London: HMSO. p. 248.

²⁴³ Barr, P. (1977). *Newspapers*. p. 69.

²⁴⁴ Harris, G and Spark, D. (1966). *Practical Newspaper Reporting*. London. Heinemann. p. 281.

²⁴⁵ Interviewed with Kahn.

²⁴⁶ Interview with Liz Kahn.

²⁴⁷ Minutes of Annual General Meeting of the Women's Press Club of London limited, held 10th September 1964 at 7:15pm at 52 Carey St, London, WC. p. 2.

²⁴⁸ (1963). *The Presswoman*. February. p. 6.

Another problem that remained for women who found employment was that their jobs were 'at odds' with the role of wife and mother.²⁴⁹ Van Zoonen argues child care is a 'double burden' for women.²⁵⁰ In journalism the work demands flexibility from its workers as news happens 24 hours a day. This type of demand combined with the demands of motherhood, also a full-time job, means women choosing a career in journalism have the additional problems of unconventional demands, making arranging child care particularly difficult because it is impossible to know when news will occur. As many of the 'women's firsts' showed, family life was often a major part of discussion in articles on such women. In a speech by the President, Doreen Stephens, that was recorded in *The Presswoman* in 1963, she argues women had a harder time than men because marriage 'cut right across a woman's career'.²⁵¹ Heyhoe-Flint notes she changed the arrangements of her professional life, so that they fitted in 'more easily' with her 'married life'.²⁵² Welch also notes in her autobiography she stopped her career to take a six-year break to have children and by the time she returned to her career, there were many new changes for her to have to adapt to.²⁵³ The responsibilities surrounding children was a permanent issue for women in employment. Shirley Dex argues in her study on women's work histories in 1984 that childbirth was one of the main reason women did not return to work.²⁵⁴ Mair's playing career if not her writing one was hindered by marriage as noted in the foreword to her book *Golf Clinic*. It states she was 'on the verge of full international honours when marriage and the arrival of her first child checked further ambitions'.²⁵⁵ The explanation is intended to provide the reader with her qualification to write an instructional golf text, but it actually shows how family life is detrimental to their career aspirations.

However despite the continuing equality issues in employment during the 1970s, the foundations that were laid at this time saw true development in the 1980s and 1990s.

²⁴⁹ Nicolson, P. (1997). Motherhood and Women's Lives. In Richardson, D and Robinson, V. (Eds.). *Introducing Women's Studies*. (2nd edit.). London: Macmillan. p. 375.

²⁵⁰ Zoonen van, L. (1994) *Feminist Media Studies*. London: Sage, pp.52-53.

²⁵¹ (1965). *The Presswoman*. Feb. p. 6.

²⁵² Heyhoe-Flint, R. (1978). *Heyhoe!*. p 149.

²⁵³ Welch, J. (1999). *Long Distance Information*. p. 65.

²⁵⁴ Dex, S. (1984). *Women's Work Histories: An analysis of the Women and Employment Survey*. Department of Employment: Research paper no. 46.

²⁵⁵ Mair, L. and Davis, D. (Ed.). *Golf Clinic - Diagnosis, Treatment and Outlook. For All Common Golfing Problems..* London: Duncan Peterson. p. 5.

There are example of women who were now finding the established training schemes successful. Janine Self was trained at the London College of Printing and worked her way up to the sports section of a provincial paper.²⁵⁶ She later became a football reporter at the *Sun*. Her achievement in getting entrance to this extreme 'male' stronghold was evidence that the new systems of official training did work in a positive way for women. Her entrance was reminiscent of the ideal manner the unions were advocating in the debates decades earlier, giving women a way to be instantly recognised as trained professionals, but still this did not guarantee her a warm reception in the profession. Although Self had found a way into sports writing, when she first tried to apply for a job at a larger paper the response was hostile. It was then she notes she herself realised for the first time that she occupied a rank which was considered unusual for a woman.²⁵⁷ The interviewing editor even informed her he was only seeing her for the job because he had been told to do so. But her training did equipped her with the qualifications and eventually got her the job.

The changing views towards women in sport and employment saw an significant increase in the visibility of women as sports journalists. The early 1980s was the first time a women was listed under the title 'sports journalist' in the British Humanities Index that was examined as part of this research. Sports writing was developing and so was women's place within it. The significance of Welch's pioneering achievements were detailed in an article 'Julie's Action Replay' in the *Times* by Deborah Moggach (1983) . Although she had been writing for a decade, the subject of the article was reviewing a fictional play about her life, particularly her experiences as a sports writer. Welch had now been at the *Observer* 11 years and the article promoted her as 'the only woman in the country to hold such a job'.²⁵⁸ Her profile was exceptional as a pioneer, but she was not alone.

In conjunction with this recognition of women, sports writing was also becoming more flexible in the style of coverage, showed signs of diversifying from the traditional reliance on match reports to include a more thoughtful, personal and feature based style. Holt argues in *Sport and the British* that the 'sensationalist side of sports reporting' grew since the advent of

²⁵⁶ Coddington, A. (1997). *One of the Lads*. p. 179.

²⁵⁷ Coddington, A. (1997). *Ibid*. p. 180.

television, as the press were forced to do more than simply report events and 'create' more stories with a 'human interest' dimension, interviews or scandal.²⁵⁹ Appendix 8.4.1 - 8.4.3 shows how the diversity in the types of sport coincided with the increase of women writers in the 1970s.

The newspaper searches undertaken for this study showed that male sport was still unsurprisingly dominant, but the range of style included six pre-match/event build up, four match reports, three player/sport profiles, one column, one informative, one exclusive. This collection of varying types of writing illustrated a move away from strict adherence to the established traditions of sports writing. The focus was largely on the conventional match reporting, but now in a greater range, with pre-match build-up and more speculation and enhancement of the event. It was the profiles and the columns that were significant to the female sporting voice, because the periodical searches uncovered this as a dominant trend in women's writing on sport. Appendix 8.4.1 notes that 42% of the articles by women found through the periodical search are in the 'profile' format. This signals that it was an area and a time where women could begin to find space for a new degree of visibility in male sports coverage.

In addition to Welch and Kahn, two other prolific women sports writers entered the profession - Cynthia Bateman and Sue Mott in the 1980s. Both had only a love of sport in common and an ambition to be sports writers. Neither were portrayed for their own personal sporting achievements, but significantly both were staff writers who did not have to rely on the hardships of freelancing, another boundary women were starting to cross. Bateman began her career as a news and features journalist transferring later into sport, as a non-specialist sports writer on the *Guardian*. While Mott began on *The Australian* as 'sport freelance and dogsbody' before being taken on as a staff sports writer.²⁶⁰ The first reference to Bateman, in 1981 for the *Guardian*, was on the subject of money and male professional football. A highly serious and 'masculine' issue in football at the time corroborated the authority of her voice. Bateman, like Welch before her also used her position to address the lingering sex

²⁵⁸ Maggach, D. (1983). Julie's Action Replay. *Times*. 16 November. p. 9.

²⁵⁹ Holt, R. (1989). *Sport and the British*: pp. 310/311/316.

discrimination in an article in 1983. Her article in the *Guardian* 'Why Does a Nice Girl Want to be a Shot-Putter?' confronts the lingering gendered ideals ascribed to women and sport.²⁶¹ Mott was first recorded in 1988 and was given a high profile for her specialism in sports interviews - 'The Sue Mott Interview'. Her subjects were the top achievers in their respective sports and were not limited to female sports stars on particular sports. In her responses for this study she is an example of how women had progressed stating she wrote on 'all sports'. Though for most 'all sports' were still mainly male sports, as the evidence from the *Observer* search for 1980 and 1988 shows, only one female article.²⁶² The article also showed that women were still being presented in a highly 'feminised' way. The accompanying photo was a close-up of the female athlete smiling, dressed in a track suit but with no allusion of action. She was presented to the reader as a passive participant. Sexism was still evident.

Another writer who had represented acceptance in the early 1990s for women sports writers was Louise Taylor. But she differs from Mott in that like Welch she is a rare woman at this time to find acceptance in the traditionally male domain of match reporting. Her reporting on male professional football in the *Times* comprises reviews of matches, for example 'West Ham Manager Calls for Cohesion' (1990), to article with the sub head 'Louise Taylor reviews the second division'.²⁶³ In one instance she is given priority writing the major story of the day 'Waking the Sleeping Giant: Dawn of a New Football Era in the Northeast' (1994) about the success of Newcastle United FC which dominated the whole first page of the sports section.²⁶⁴ She is also respected because she is presented in the same manner as other male reporters on the page. Her coverage of the game, like Mott in some ways, provides insight into the chief male characters such as the manager of Swindon Town Football Club in her piece 'Hoddle Plays the Thinker' (1991), where she profiles him in his first press conference at the club.²⁶⁵ Her aim is to portray the inner man to the reader by describing him and analysing the clues he gives in his approach to a match. The fact that she is allowed the

²⁶⁰ Sue Mott. Information from questionnaire response.

²⁶¹ Bateman, C. (1983). Why Does a Nice Girl want to be a Shot Putter. *Guardian*. 11 January. p. 8.

²⁶² Note all of these sports listed with the exception of the Olympics, refers to the male profession events and matches. The *Observer*. 18 September.

²⁶³ Taylor, L. (1990). West Ham Manager Calls for Cohesion. *Times*. 3 September.

²⁶⁴ (1994.) *Times*. 9 October. Section 2. p. 139.

²⁶⁵ Taylor, L. (1991). Hoddle Plays the Thinker. *Times*. 5 April. p. 37.

credibility to speak on such a subject illustrates the changes that have taken place. not only because her opinions are not determined as relevant only to other women, but because of the area of sport she is covering. Again like Welch and other writers, she uses her position on the sports pages to raise issues of women's sport. In one article, 'Female Coaches? Join the Bandwagon' (1994) it states it will look at 'how women in football are ruling male prejudice offside - and ground rules for starting your own team' and is a direct attack on gender discrimination in sport.²⁶⁶

Jenny MacArthur was another frequent correspondent in the early 1990s, writing match reports and pre-match reviews on equestrian events for both men and women. An example of MacArthur's coverage in a pre-match review of the MacConnal-Mason Bramham International Three Day Event in 'Thompson Hears the Call for Instant Action' is on the main page of the sports section.²⁶⁷ Her style of writing is to focus on both the female and male competitors and their horses on a strictly factual basis demonstrating the ability of the female to write in this 'traditional' style also. In the 1990s women did begin to appear more visible to the reader, with Janine Self and Vikki Orvice both establishing themselves as football reporters for the *Sun* in the mid-1990s and Alyson Rudd for the *Times*. All later came with accompanying photos and were promoted with the same status as the male writers in the papers.

Lauren St John and Laura Thompson, like Helme, were sports writers whose particular success was sports books. The title of St John's book, *Out of Bounds: Inside Professional Golf* (1995), ironically symbolises the outside position that women had held and how they had moved 'inside'. *Out of Bounds* is described as a 'hard-hitting...analysis of professional golf worldwide' which confirms the power and authority of St John to speak on professional, therefore mainly male, golf.²⁶⁸ Her profiles of the stars of the game, from the biggest personality players to the coaches, is evidence of her achievement to access and comment on all areas of the sport.

²⁶⁶ Taylor, L. (1994). Female Coaches? Join the Bandwagon. *Times*. 3 October. p. 35.

²⁶⁷ MacArthur, J. (1990). Thompson Hears the Call for Instant Action. *Times*. 7 June. p. 39.

²⁶⁸ St John, L. (1995). *Out of Bounds*. p. inside cover.

Thompson shows her authority to write on male sports in *Quest for Greatness: A Celebration of Lammtarra and the Racing Season* (1996). Again it explores a behind-the-scenes mystery of the murder of the trainer for the horse of the season, Lammtarra. Her use of the word 'our' in this exploration of the male dominated sport of horse racing, suggests her intimate connection to the reader. Its description of her as someone who 'sets out to discover the roots of our obsession' suggests a common bond and a love of sport between reader and writer.²⁶⁹ She is offered to them as a writer who can communicate with them because of their shared interest and her talents rather than expertise.

The success of these women, most without any form of sporting background, demonstrates their progress, while their work is evidence to support the final challenges of the play-to-write debate. They were no longer restricted to traditional areas such as women's golf. Although some like St John did cover the sport they played, unlike Elizabeth Price-Fisher 40 years previous, St John not only wrote on events for both genders, she explored and exposed problems and issues in golf. Women could now be a success, like their male colleagues for having, a strong literary talent, rather than sporting authority. Brian Glanville states some of the best male journalists did not come from any sort of sporting background but came to sport writing on the basis of their literary talent. In an article, *Still Looking for an Idiom*, criticising the scope of sports writing to reach all sections of the people in Britain, Glanville speaks about the writers who were not traditional sports journalists in other countries, but who offered some of the best writing. He refers to a chief football correspondent in Turin, Giovannia Arpino, who started his career as a novelist.²⁷⁰ This praise from a male sports writer with a long career and high profile in England, suggested a diverse background is often welcome and can enhance the scope of the profession. This recognition validates the position of women like St John and Thompson in modern times - and Helme in the early part of the century - who were all novelists and brought strong literary connotations to their work.

²⁶⁹ Thompson, L. (1996). *Quest for Greatness: A Celebration of Lammtarra and the Racing Season*. London: Micheal Joseph. 1996, p. Inside front cover.

²⁷⁰ Glanville, B. (1995). *Still Looking for an Idiom*. p. 47.

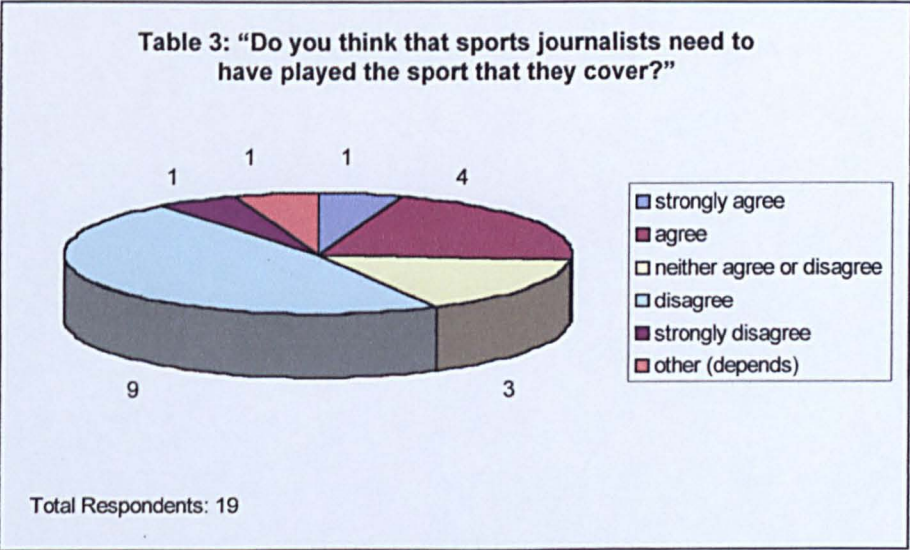
As women developed professionally qualifications to reinstate their authority were clearly diminishing. For example in the book *Seventy years of BBC Sport* (1999) the 'Nineties' chapter held the first contribution by a women, Clare Balding with an article "Bad day for the bookies Frankie's Magnificent - A Feat unlikely to be matched."²⁷¹ Balding was a key part of the BBC's Horse Racing team and later fronted Horse Racing for Channel Four. The new confidence in the authority of women can also be seen in the comparison of the columns of Leitch and the late 1990s writer Karen Giles of *The Scotland on Sunday*. Despite the fact that Leitch had a sporting profile which made her golf matches front page news, her status is continually reconfirmed to the reader. The column by Giles on male professional football in England comes with no explanation of who she is or why the reader should listen to her point of view. Rather than the constant references to sporting ability, which work like an allowance to counterbalance Leitch's gender. Giles' gender is displayed in a head shot without any additional qualification. Although Leitch did make some progress in the direction of her advice for both men and women players, Giles goes beyond this level with her column which serves as a personal critique on English football. The title 'Commentary' shows the level of acceptance in her voice because she gives her own perspective on the sport. Her comments on all areas of the game from the England team manager and match review, to her opinion on the behaviour of individual players, are all from her own viewpoint. Not only is she unique in the way she reviews the male game, she uses her position as 'outsider' with power to criticise some of the 'masculine' traits which are displayed. In one column she ridicules the conduct of some players, and writes with humour about their manners: 'just when you thought farting, belching and grappling with one's own parts in public was passé, Liverpool FC throw a Christmas Party.'²⁷² The rest of the column details their actions in a highly judgmental style and shows how the outsider used her position to find and speak with a non-compact voice in the game.

The diminishing effect of the 'play-to-write' debate can also be seen in the responses of the contemporary women surveyed for this research. Interviewees were asked 'Do you think that

²⁷¹ Gearing, B. and McNeill, P. (Eds). (1999). *Seventy Years*. p.170.

²⁷² (1999). *Scotland on Sunday*. 3 March. p. 7.

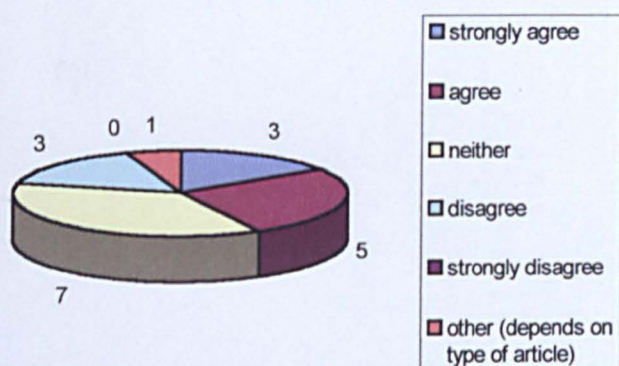
sports journalists need to have played the sports that they cover?'. Their answers are summarised in Table 3, below which shows the majority disagreed with this statement. Most who did disagree were writers who did not play the sports they wrote on. For example, Mott acknowledges her reasons are, of course, based on her own personal perspective, but she believes that 'having played a sport may be a positive disadvantage', stating an ex-player 'maybe too close to be objective or too literary constipated to write a cogent word'. However two respondents who disagreed with the statement, who did have strong athletic backgrounds, Lonsborough (swimming) and Harris (hockey) were international athletes. Five respondents did agree that playing experience is a necessity of the job. Patricia Davies, a freelance golf writer explained she felt having played the sports was 'a big help' to the writer, 'although level isn't important'. It is the reference to level which is the most significant aspect of her answer, as it removes the exceptional playing ability held by many of the early successful women sports writers. The one respondent who neither agreed or disagreed with the statement explained she did so because in her experience many writers of the more popular sports, like football, seemed to be 'big fans', whereas in smaller less popular sports most are participants passing on their own experiences and trying to raise the profile.



The differentiation in the responses largely came down to the respondents background; those who entered the profession as trained journalists, valued this skill most and those who came from a playing background saw this as the significant knowledge. Most of the respondents who agreed with the above question also agreed with the statement 'Would you Agree that

'Expertise' in Journalism is more important than 'Expertise' in sports?' as detailed in Table 4. They were the contemporary journalists who had undergone the official training schemes where they were taught their capabilities were based on sound research, skills and knowledge as a journalist; talents such as athletic ability would have been an additional skill to assist them in their job rather than a primary requirement, as the unions had advocated. Those who disagreed with the statement were all from an older generation of sports writers. For example, Price-Fisher was an ex-golfer who began her career with no training in the 1950s at a time when a professional order of training standards were not yet developed. The question of expertise inspired a diverse range of answers from respondents but it highlights how emphasis on sporting ability has moved in the mindset of the contemporary writers .

Table 4: "Would you Agree that 'Expertise' in Journalism is more Important than 'Expertise' in Sports



Women had also made positive steps in the 1980s and into the 1990s in their ability to challenge and address the equalities that persisted in the industry. For example the NUJ established the Equality Council which produced a booklet in 1984 on good practices in equality for women. *Images of Women Guidelines for Promoting Equality through Journalism* included recommended guidelines for people in the industry to follow for good practice and set the tone for future goals. The introductory paragraph states its aims and recognises the part the profession itself played in continuing the relegation of women.

Journalists have played a major part in perpetuating the image of women as second class citizens . The aim of this booklet is to encourage journalists to take responsibility for changing this.²⁷³

The move towards better representation of women was reflective of the trends for equality. The NUJ ADM Committee on Equality in 1984 in turn also addressed its own treatment of women journalists. The opening paragraph of its reports stated 'what would a male journalist say if he were told there were only certain types of jobs that he was suitable to handle - as many women journalists are told?'²⁷⁴ The fact that such questions were now being addressed in the industry indicates that women were making more progress.

This questioning of their position continued into the 1990s. An article by Mary Fitzhenry of the Sports Writers Association in 1990 asked 'why are women left on the sidelines taking amateur videos when they could be professional reporters and photographers?'²⁷⁵ Although women had remained on the sidelines of the profession for most of the century, they were now publicly asking why? The issue of inequality was also re-visited again by the NUJ in a six page feature of the in-house magazine the *Journalist* in February/March of 1994. The focus was solely on equality and how women were treated in the work place, even though they now had a solid hold in the wider profession. Issues such as sexual harassment and pay show that their progress had not solved inequality issues in employment. However the development of women writers should not be underestimated: Anne Sebba, even calls the 1990s the 'Decade of Women' in her book *Battling for News: The Rise of the Woman Reporter* (1994).²⁷⁶ Her enthusiasm led her to propose that women reporters now had nothing left to achieve in news reporting because true equality had already been attained. For women sports writers, access to the profession did not bring automatic acceptance or success on the same basis as their male colleagues. So for them this optimism was again premature.

²⁷³ National Union of Journalist Equality Council. (1984). *Images of Women Guidelines for Promoting Equality through Journalism*. London: National Union of Journalists, p. 1.

²⁷⁴ National Union of Journalists. (1984). *ADM Committee on Equality*. p. 1.

²⁷⁵ Fitzhenry, M. (1990). Stop Press. *Sport & Leisure*. July/August. p. 34.

²⁷⁶ Sebba, A. (1994). *Battling for News*. p. 10.

To cope with the specific needs that women in sports writing required. Fitzhenry also suggests a support system, based on the same principles that the SWJ attempted to establish at the beginning of the century. She argues

women need to be encouraged to establish their own support network of sports journalists to promote their own careers, and to seek positions of leadership in the sports media.²⁷⁷

Although this has not yet occurred here for women, as it had in the United States with the foundation of the Association of Women in the Sports Media, the numbers of women entering the profession in the 1990s may change this. At the *Times* alone three or four women were writing on sport on a regular basis. One edition contains articles from Louise Taylor on Netball and Jane Wyatt on Sport for the Disabled.²⁷⁸ Each article was drawn off, in an individual section, with its own heading. Although the writer's focus was on subjects which were of minority interest, they were not treated as such by the newspaper. Both pieces were on a page with more mainstream articles; such as on rugby league and swimming, and they were given a balanced position. In 1996 figures from a study by Lopez for *Women on the Ball: A Guide to Women's Football* (1997) show that 63 regional and national newspapers recorded having 550 male and 20 female reporters.²⁷⁹ This may not yet seem like a consequential amount, but this survey did not include freelancers, where many women could still be found, though their numbers would be near impossible to collate.

However, the sexism that women faced in all aspects of society was not easy to erase. While there were now visible women in the most male areas of the profession, Nicky Crowther, a questionnaire respondent, argues sexism was the heart of the reason why there were not more women. She believes sports writing was still largely perceived as a 'lads' profession and this produced a reluctance to accept women.²⁸⁰ But this was not the only perception of the profession that hurt women's position within it. There was also an assessment in the industry that sports writing was 'a lesser kind of reporting' in comparison with hard news, a fear that had been apparent since the early formation of sports writing as a recognised section by the NUJ and IOJ, as a result of this nicknames given to the sports world included

²⁷⁷ Fitzhenry, M. (1990). *Stop Press*. p. 35.

²⁷⁸ (1991). *Times*. 1 November. p. 40.

²⁷⁹ Lopez, S. (1997). *Women on the Ball*. p. 219.

'the toy department', 'toyworld, or 'toyland'.²⁸¹ Sports writers themselves argued that others in the profession saw them as 'the bottom rung of the editorial status ladder'.²⁸² St John said that she felt sports writers were 'on the bottom of the journalistic totem pole, somewhere between newsletter writers and people who work for construction magazines'.²⁸³ The issue remained for women that the traditional gendered nature of the profession and their perceived lack of sporting authority would only further devalue it.

Women were still struggling to get the security of the prized staff job. Even Welch, who had established herself as a staff reporter in the 1970s, was forced to return to freelancing when she went back to work in the late 1990s, after a break to raise her children. She refers to freelancing as 'dog-paddling around in the shark-filled ocean that is life for the freelance'.²⁸⁴ She 'fretted' about how she would provide for her family as her husband's retirement loomed ahead of them. While the hardships of freelancing ensued, so did the fact that this was still a key method of entry. The concept of freelancing continued to be held up as a positive option for those who often required flexibility in employment because of the demands of family life. It was recommended along with new working arrangements such as job-share and part-time working.²⁸⁵ Another new entrant at this time, Ashton, also used freelancing as a way of contributing to the sports section of her local newspaper, while still at school. This led to her being taken on as a trainee reporter and demonstrates it could also still be a valuable means of entrance and not simply as a career of hardships. Freelance then did have its benefits, as well as hardship for women, but as the main system of entry it was a difficult way to establish a career.

The 1990s may have claimed to be the decade of women, indeed women were breaking some of the final taboos for their gender, with women ordained as priests, for the first time in

²⁸⁰ Nicky Crowther, information from questionnaire response.

²⁸¹ Eberhard, W. and Myers, M L. (1988). Beyond the locker room: Women in Sports on Major Daily Newspapers. *Journalism Quarterly* no 65, p 598.

²⁸² Weis, Kurt. (1986). How the Print Media Affect Sports and Violence: The Problem of Sports Journalism. *International Review for Society of Sport*. 21, 2/3. p. 244.

²⁸³ Lauren St John. Information from questionnaire response.

²⁸⁴ Welch, J. (1999). *Long Distance Information*. p. 88.

the history of the Church of England, in 1994, but for women sports writers there were still many gender inequalities.²⁸⁶ Even in my own experience writing *The Football Fan's Guide* in 1998 was met with comments such as 'a girl can't write a book about football!' Although women such as myself, can and did write about football and had found ways to prove themselves, the question of authority still hung suspiciously over women, as they began to become more visible. Welch and others had found a way to prove their sporting authority, but they were still rare examples in comparison to the overall maleness of the profession. What the early 1990s were unique for, was the ever-increasing visibility of women's overall relationship to sport, which saw them become the subject of discussion, for example, as fans with more women notably attending matches. The notion of they had a valuable part to play in sport had finally become a part of the public agenda. Books like Anne Coddington's *One of the Lads - Women who Follow Football* (1997) were now written looking at the role women played in all aspects of the sporting life, as players, supporters, referees, directors of professional clubs and journalists. The subject of women in the sports media was a valid area of interest like never before.

There were a variety of theories which attempted to explain the timing of this change. Coddington argues that the World Cup in 1990 was responsible for igniting the interest of women and others who had stayed away from football in the violence of the 1970s/1980s, along with the explosion in the amount of sports coverage in the newspapers.²⁸⁷ Her argument was that more women at games was a sign of 'the growing independence of women' and was a further signal of the 'breakdown in the traditional role - the ideas that men went to work and football while women stayed at home'.²⁸⁸ Football was now a fast growing sport for women, an issue that women writers were reinforcing in article's such as 'Fair Game' (1992), by Caroline Ellis in the *New Statesman & Society*. She opens the piece by refuting a top male official's view of women playing football.

'Women' said Ted Croker, when secretary of the Football Association, 'are just not interested in football'. No one has told the players locked in battle at Vicarage Road,

²⁸⁵ Note this advice was coming from Fitzhenry who was also a member of the Sports Writers Association of Great Britain. Fitzhenry, M. (1990). Stop Press. p. 34.

²⁸⁶ Heald, H. (Ed.). (2000). *Britain's Century*. p. 206.

²⁸⁷ Coddington, A. (1997). *One of the Lads*. p. 5.

²⁸⁸ Coddington, A. Ibid. p. 5.

Watford, this blustery Sunday Lunch time, as four of the top teams in one of Britain's fastest growing sports, women's soccer, fight it out for a place in the Women's FA Cup final.²⁸⁹

Ellis supplements her comments with evidence from a survey of 283 women football supporters by the Norman Chester Centre for Football Research. The survey carried out by Jackie Woodhouse found that 44 per cent would be interested in seeing more women's matches and 61 per cent thought league clubs could do more to promote women's football in their areas. But they go further; 62 per cent want more coverage of the women's game and large majorities favour more women reporting, commentating and acting as pundits.²⁹⁰ The view that sports, like football, were not of interest to women was no longer sufficient argument against their role in sport, as the growing evidence of their participation became more apparent. Whatever the reasons, women were taking part in sport in increased numbers and this factor, combined with the fact that more coverage required more writers, meant more space and eventually more opportunity for women. Others argue that editors were now more willing to practice positive discrimination, evidence of a change away from the constraints of tokenism.²⁹¹ Their attendance at football games was clear visual indication of their interest in sports and changes in the way the industry was prepared to view them.

The 1990s were a time of further change for the sports pages, on the back of the industry of sport itself. *Reuters Century of Great British Sport* describes the 1990s as seeing

sport explode through the modern electronic media and became a rapidly developing boom business, something now changed out of all recognition, from the athletic past-time that once kept people busy at weekends. By the end of the decade and the end of the millenium, sport was a news-machine and money-machine that could dwarf many other industries.²⁹²

This materialised in the transformation from simple sections to entire separate pull out sections, in some instances a full magazine. Many Sunday newspapers now presented the 'Sports', as a paper within the paper, for the reader. Newspapers from the broadsheet, the *Daily Telegraph* to the tabloid, the *Sun*, presented the first page of the sports section with the same dramatic effect of the traditional front page, with headline banner and larger action

²⁸⁹ Ellis, C. (1992). *Fair Game. New Statesman and Society*. 26 April. p. 18.

²⁹⁰ Ellis, C. (1992). *Ibid.* p. 18.

²⁹¹ Fitzhenry, M. (1990). *Stop Press*. p. 35.

photo to create instant impact.²⁹³ The *Picador Book of Sportswriting* (1996) notes how sports writing had exploded as an industry with the newspaper sports supplements only one factor. Fanzines (magazines written by fans) and highly commercial glossy sports magazines also flooded onto the market. New satellite channels promised more and more live football on television for fans and newspapers and magazines diversified further to compete with the ever increasing information that was being made available. Fans could now watch a large variety of matches live, in order to compete the written media had to promise to know more than the eye could see. It had to be exclusive and get behind the scenes.

It was this type of writing that the women who were uncovered in the searches were writing. For example Sue Mott was becoming more visible with the 'Sue Mott Interview' and she received 'The Sports Feature Writer of the Year' in 1996, revealing her work was highly regarded. It was also significant that she was given the award for the best 'feature' writer, finding her accolade in the type of writing that was being seen as the way forward in sports writing. The periodical search (see Appendix 8.4.1.) shows that the area where women tended to find prominence for their writing was in non match reporting, through a style that was more alternative and feature based.

But despite her own success, Mott herself complains it had been 'a long slow revolution', but she argues the challenge for them has finally moved from conforming to safe 'feminine' aspects of sport into the 'masculine' domains like football and rugby.²⁹⁴ Her theory was that success in male areas was proof that the situation had at last begun to change. But while success in covering male sports was part of the final challenge for Mott, this meant more women sports journalists had not yet helped the coverage of women's sports. There were no articles by women writers covering female sport in the first two years which were studied in the 1990s. Four of the six examples were on male sport inside the sports pages and were written by Mott. Barnes writes in *A Sports Writers Year* (1989) that the perception of women

²⁹² Newlin, M. and Collins, T. (1999). *Reuters Century*. p. 140.

²⁹³ (1994). *Daily Telegraph*. Monday 1 August.

²⁹⁴ Mott, S. (1996). *A Girl's Guide to Ball Games*. p. 9.

was slow to change in some eyes. He argues the continuing problems for women were because

the image-makers: media people, ad men, journalists: they did not want women's sport at all. They wanted bimbo's sport. They did not want to see strong-willed women in victory they wanted bimbo's tennis, the bimbo's marathon, the bimbo's javelin."²⁹⁵

Pet Turrell, Deputy Sports Editor of *The Sports Argus*, describes this problem for women as a 'chicken and egg situation' because sports writing 'has traditionally been male-dominated, women are less likely to want to enter it' and without more entering they will be unable to effect change.²⁹⁶ But Coddington argues that the expansion of the sports media in the 1990s 'fuelled other women's willingness to think of football as their own' as more space women as journalists and presenters demonstrate the place of women for them.²⁹⁷

Throughout the century women sports writers were placed in a state of flux between the gendered assumptions of their sex. Stringers early bold claims of acceptance and success for women sports writers, were ultimately tempered by changes in the structure and status of women in society, with further limitations on class and restrictions to writing only on women's sports. In addition the progress that Stringer herself had witnessed in the acceptance of women writers in sports departments, was effected by the disruption of both World Wars and its impact on sport and the role of women. Most were ex-sports writers acceptance was based on the personal sporting qualifications. Any steps forward in acceptance of a female sporting voice in the first half of the century, faced new challenges in the continuing redefinition of what was acceptable feminine behaviour. From the backlash against women taking up active roles in the public sphere in the 1950s to the renewed drive of the second wave feminism in the late 1960s/ 1970s, the 'capability' of women to write on sport was continually debated. Yet, although the arguments of gender inequalities would remain, it was at this time it was placed firmly on the social agenda and women sports writers benefited from a changing nature in the defining of the roles and abilities of women in wider society.

²⁹⁵ Barnes, S. (1989). *A Sportswriters Year*. p. 115.

²⁹⁶ Pet Turrell, Deputy Sports Editor of the Birmingham *Sports Argus*. Questionnaire respondent in undergraduate dissertation. In Bennett, V. (1996). *Women, Football and the Media: An Analysis and Re-interpretation of the Female Position in Male Professional Football*. Unpublished BA Hons. Thesis, De Montfort University.

²⁹⁷ Coddington, A. (1997). *One of the Lads*. p. 5.

The new structure in the training of journalists went some way to removing the subjective nature of hiring which had for so long kept women on the outside of the profession. There was also a significant change in the backgrounds of women, who were no longer reliant on an exceptional playing career to prove their expertise. From this base the increase in their visibility would finally occur, reaching new heights of acceptance in the early 1990s. While gender issues were still apparent women were now writing on sport based on personal abilities, they were trained journalists. Although, entrance into the profession did not mean that the realities of the profession were the same for women as their male colleagues. However, by the end of the century Stringers' original comments were beginning to become true again, with most newspapers having a woman sports writers on their staff, their evolution was a long arduous journey for the early 'fair invaders'.

CHAPTER THREE:

REALITIES OF THE PROFESSION - THE WORKING LIFE OF WOMEN WRITING ON SPORT.

"When I die, I have asked Mickey Walker, a woman professional golfer, to take my ashes to St Andrews and scatter them in the North Room of the Royal and Ancient Golf Club.

"It may not be the Kingdom of Heaven, but it is probably the only way I will enter that hallowed ground."

"How Mickey will get in I do not know!"¹ Liz Kahn - Golf Writer.

Entrance to the inner sanctum of sports was just one of the many restrictions women sports writers faced in their professional lives. The above quotation may be presented as a joke by Kahn, but aside from the humour, the words are true. Despite being an accredited member of the AGW, she was prevented access to places, her male colleagues took for granted. This type of prejudice was an all encumbering daily problem where both occupation and specialism were inherently promoted as 'male preserves', which would not accept women and actively sought to exclude them.

The force of the opposition women experienced meant their success was based on their ability to overcome the many obstacles put in their way. Not all achieved this. In some cases, the restrictions against them were too many and they left the profession.² It is for this reason the questionnaires are so important in understanding the actual reality of their working lives, as these forms of industry discrimination can not be found by simply studying their work.³ The reality of being an 'outsider' in a 'masculine' profession was not known until Welch offered some explanation of her life in her televised play *Glory, Glory Days* (1984). This was the first time the bigotry of the profession was revealed by a woman and the extent of it's effects were revealed. By comparing her accounts with the experiences of others in

¹ St John, L. (1995). *Out of Bounds*. p. 24.

² One anonymous respondent a writer for a Rugby magazine in the 1990s left the profession after finding too many obstacles in her way to undertake her job properly.

³ All information in this chapter on individual women sports writers is from questionnaire or interview responses, unless otherwise stated.

their questionnaires and from the few biographical accounts available, it is possible to see the trends and issues for women and consider what was particularly unique to sports writing.⁴

For the purposes of comparison, where evidence allows, the realities of woman as war correspondents will also be considered. This particular specialism was chosen as a means of testing the factors of discrimination against women, because of the similarities in the ideological connotations of sport and war. Both were highly regarded as 'masculine' preserves. The aggressive and dangerous nature of war was even more 'masculinised' than sport and was also considered public sphere business and wholly unsuitable for women. The debates concerning their 'appropriateness' to be soldiers have been as fierce as those in a sporting role. The dilemma of whether as 'lifegiver' they should be allowed to become a 'life taker' by taking up arms on the front line, has been as strong as the issue of the biological capabilities of a woman's capacity to participate in sports.⁵

Ironically, sport is often aligned to war in peace time and referred to as 'war minus the fighting' because of its competitive nature as a battle between two sides. It has been argued that war is viewed by men as a 'game', 'a dangerous and brutal game, but a game nevertheless'.⁶ It is these similar psychological links that allow a comparative study. The language in sports writing has been traditionally drenched in battle language, teams are often said to have a 'fighting' spirit. They are comparable in their connections of physicality, competition and violence, and this has meant the roles of as soldier and athlete, woman have confronted the same type of restrictions to prevent their involvement. In addition, the structures of access and accreditation can be closely related in their procedures. Women in both domains have experienced the hardships in finding stories because of the difficulties in getting into press boxes/press camps.

⁴ Because of the restrictions of questionnaire to living women, most of the information is based on data from the post 1960s era, as this was where it was possible to find details. Where the experiences of early women are known, they have been taken into consideration to allow a greater comprehension.

⁵ Rowley, J. (1998). *Deadlier than the Male. Night and Day: The Mail on Sunday Review*. 27 December. p. 6.

⁶ Elwood-Akers, V. (1988). *Women War Correspondents in the Vietnam War - 1961 -1975*. London: The Scarecrow Press. Inc. p. 3.

The interesting aspect presented by the comparison of these two sections of the press is the differences in degrees of success they were able to achieve as writers. Academically there are more texts which analyse women's contribution as war correspondents because of its direct importance to society, whereas the study of those writing on sport has only begun to develop as a post-1990s question in Britain, when issues of gender became more widely documented.⁷ The war correspondents were able to overcome several bans and unwelcome gestures and still manage to report on front line action in World War II. Yet sports writers struggled for decades to get accreditation for the Olympics and continued to do so until well into the late 70s. From examples as early as the Boer War, women were known to form a career as war correspondents and several were established by World War II. Yet it took until the 1970s for a woman (Julie Welch) to have a recognised career reporting on male events. This is because although both areas shared the gendered similarities there is one key difference that affects their success. In war the fact that there is a common enemy united men and women, there is not a similar unifying element in sport. Women rarely compete with men in team sports. In sports writing they would continually share the relegation of sports women and confront discrimination on a regular basis. Women have made great leaps in terms of actual physical participation in the professions of war and sport, but they have not been matched equally in their ability to report on them.

Removing long established gender myths was not easy for women writers in both areas. Mott argues that women were welcomed at the same events she was barred from as a sports journalist when they were employed in 'feminine' roles. She complains:

why is it that women are so welcome with a waitress's tray in their hand or serving a pint of serving wench? Fear? Loathing? Tradition? Not wanting to discuss curtains in the tea interval? Something like that.⁸

⁷ As discussed in the Introduction books such as Burton-Nelson, M. (1996). *The Stronger Women Get*; Cahn, S. K. (1994). *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth Century Women's Sport*. Oxford: Maxwell Macmillan; Creedon, P. (Ed.). (1994). *Women, Sport and the Media*; Coddington, A. (1997). *One of the Lads*; and Sebba, A. (1994). *Battling for News* shows an increase in the discussions of gender in the media and women's roles as producers in the media rather than objects or consumers.

⁸ Mott, S. (1996). *A Girl's Guide to Ball Games*. p. 11.

The reasons given for their exclusion was that the conversation of the men in attendance was not appropriate for women to hear, but this did not seem to apply to women who were present operating in traditional 'feminine' roles.

The complexities of women's working relationships with their male colleagues was a problem. New female entrants were immediately made aware of how this male profession saw the role of women. Heyhoe-Flint was conscious of the way the all-male sports desk reacted to her presence when she first arrived. Their response to her ranged from concern about their behaviour in the attendance of a woman, to an assumption of what she was able to offer to the team. She notes the effect she had on them was a source of amusement for her, because of the way she noticed they would stop to check their speech in the middle of sentences. Her colleagues were operating on the belief that as a woman she should not hear bad language. In this way she was a disruption to the 'masculine' codes of conduct that previously governed their behaviour. She also explains how as the only woman she was expected to do all the unwanted tasks that were deemed 'feminine' duties by her colleagues such as making the tea and 'tidying duties'.⁹ The initial reaction to her was to make use of her abilities as a domesticated 'woman' and not as a expert in sports.

For some of the women war correspondents their 'femininity' was reinforced to the public in order not to be seen to adhere to the traditional image of women, which was in direct contrast to the dangerous job they were undertaking. William Prochnau in *Once Upon a Distant War: Reporting from Vietnam* (1996) argues that many of the women correspondents were aware of the need to present a 'feminine' image to the readers back home. He describes women, such as, Beverly Deepe as conforming to the 'girl-next-door' image, while another Marguerite Higgins found herself on the cover of *Life* magazine, which usually only featured glamorous 'starlets'.¹⁰ His interpretation of their presentation in the stereotypical roles, of the happy homemaker or sexual object, indicates the pressure to be 'feminine' in order to be accepted.

⁹ Heyhoe-Flint, R. (1978). *Heyhoe!* p 147.

¹⁰ Prochnau, W. (1996). *Once Upon a Distant War: Reporting from Vietnam*. Edinburgh and London: Mainstream Publishing., pp. 275, 343.

The problem for women writers in both areas was they did not make the rules and nor did they have the hierarchical power to affect them. The instituted nature of these 'professionalised norms' it was argued were so secure in detailing the 'routines and conventions' that they were 'difficult to identify, let alone challenge'.¹¹ This was evident in Alyson Rudd's experience who came up against this obstacle when she wanted to switch from being a financial journalist into sport.

I was not blinded with optimism, I knew it would be very difficult. I had worked briefly with a woman who became a high profile financial journalist at one national daily. She told me she wanted to switch to the sports desk but they would not let her.¹²

In a male dominated profession it was quite clear the 'they' was the male hierarchy - described by a questionnaire respondent, Janine Self, as 'a proliferation of white middle aged men'. This was the same group who were controlling the army and who determined the frontline was not an area for women. On the whole women who had come into journalism were expected to remain in the allocated 'female' areas. Becoming a sports writer or a front line correspondent was not included in their remit.

Kahn recalls being 'turfed off benches...out of dining rooms...snooker rooms...and bars', because they were areas of the golf club where women were not permitted, not even its own members. Bizarrely she was removed from a bench simply because it was located outside a 'men only' bar window. This was a forbidden area because the men inside could see her. In another instance when reporting on an event she brought her adult son to walk around the course with her, but in the end he tired of her company because she was continually harassed for her accreditation while he, the actual 'outsider', was never asked once. She was also ungraciously removed from a bar she had entered with her male editor, a place where all the rest of the male journalists had gathered. In her confrontation with the doorman she was informed 'even the Queen couldn't go in there'. This was similar to the experience of Martha Gellhorn, a war correspondent who married fellow war reporter and writer Ernest Hemmingway. Because of this relationship she was aware of how the job had different rules based on gender. While she was prevented from entering press camps and other areas, Hemmingway and her other male colleagues were provided with interviewees and other

¹¹ Carter, C, et al. (Eds.). (1998). *News, Gender and Power*. p. 5.

sources of information.¹³ In Gellhorn's case she used her ban from the front line to find 'alternative' stories from the official interviews her male colleagues were returning. For Kahn this meant re-educating the golf institution that not all journalists who cover the sport are male. Kahn argues that 'in real terms' all journalists become 'honorary members' for the week of the event, therefore 'if they allow men in, they have to allow women in'.

This discrimination followed them on every interview and to every match, event or front line camp. Joanne Burgess, a contemporary provincial sports editor states 'there are always those, who would rather speak to a man about a traditional 'male' sport'. Welch jokes on her return to the profession in the early 1990s, 'it was back to real life' and 'trying to arrange interviews with managers who didn't want to be interviewed by me.'¹⁴ The effect of this prejudice was a heavy weight for women to carry around with them in the course of their employment. It produced a sense of envy towards their male colleagues, who could go about their job without any of these additional concerns. Welch found the contradictions of her gender and her sporting interest difficult to reconcile. As a person who grew up loving sport, she was unable to confirm her own identity. She states she 'never once wanted to be a male', but what she did 'envy' was the 'ease with which men make their way in the world.'¹⁵ In the fictional play, *Glory, Glory Days* her character reflects this dismay and says:

If I'd known how it was going to turn out I thought, I'd never have pestered the Sports Editor to give me a job in a million years. I mean, if I'd known that just because you stick out on top and don't grow a moustache some people would treat you like a Martian with bad breath...¹⁶

In her career she never escaped from the fact that she was biologically different from her male colleagues. Despite being the most high profile women sports writer, even she discovered that access to the profession did not mean acceptance. She had established her career based on her abilities and yet, like many other women, she would continue to fight against gendered assumptions of her capabilities.

¹² Rudd, A. (1998). *Astroturf Blonde*. p. 62.

¹³ Wagner, L. (1989). *Women War Correspondents of World War II*. London: Greenwood Press, p. 121.

¹⁴ Welch, J. (1999). *Long Distance Information*. p. 14.

¹⁵ Welch, J. (1999). *Ibid*. p. 150.

¹⁶ Welch, J. (1984). *Those Glory Glory Days. First Love*. (A Channel Four Book, Stories from Goldcrest's highly acclaimed Films), London: Fontana Lion's Original. p. 51.

As the above examples illustrate sex discrimination was a major issue for women. Those surveyed were asked whether they felt it was a sexist profession and were asked the level they agreed or disagreed with this statement. Table 5 below, shows the majority of the respondents agreed. Self explained her reasons why.

The nature of professional sport is that it is male dominated. Hence there is a laddish culture which has permeated through to journalism.

This responses suggest sexism was a part of their working lives. Mott strongly agreed with the statement because she did not believe her colleagues had completely found a way to fight sexism.

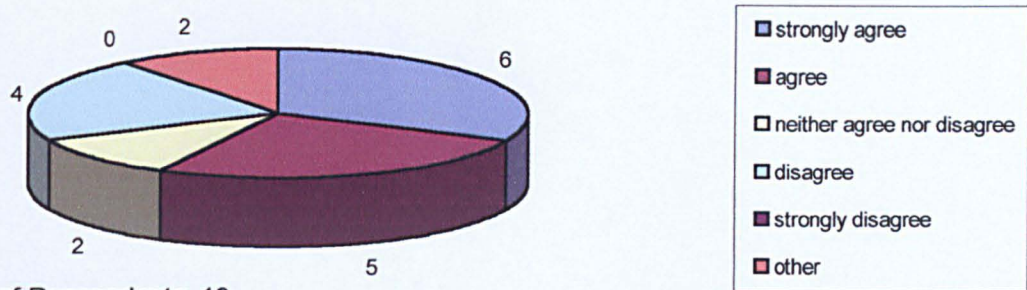
Sport is an increasingly sexist world. The last bastion. Obviously, things are getting better but there is still great resistance from men who call them [women] "fluffy".

She highlights a key problem that the continuation of this form of sexism still comes from the doctrine that women do not possess the necessary sporting authority, therefore when they are hired it is for 'window dressing' rather than their talent. Crawford, who also agreed with the statement, believed the only way to deal with it, was 'to ignore this [sexism] and get on with it'. While they could not immediately change the sexist nature in the profession, some respondents like Kelly did feel they could challenge the existing perceptions.

Its definitely a male bastion, although personally I've found that knowledge of any particular sport breeds respect. The more hard working the male sports writer the more the individual tends to treat other journalists as equals.

As the majority did agree with the question, it implies they were well aware of the constructs of sexism in the profession, but these responses show that the problems did not faze them. They were still willing to work within this sector, but saw the possibility of change as something their presence and perseverance could shift.

Table 5: "Do you believe that sports journalism is a sexist profession?"



Total Number of Respondents: 19

One particularly interesting aspect was those respondents who did not feel it was a sexist profession. All wrote additional comments when invited to do so to explain their response. Price-Fisher, the oldest respondent and now retired, wrote she believed 'it was, but not now'. This suggests she was aware of sexism in the industry but she was under the impression it had been resolved by her contemporary colleagues, yet they were the ones who strongly agreed with the statement. Kahn argues this belief occurs because the contemporary writers were more aware of their rights and would no longer tolerate the situation as the older generation had. Price-Fisher also notes that one of the most important aspects of a good journalist was 'thinking twice about rocking the boat' as this could affect the information needed from contacts in the future. This was a common theme in some of the explanations of those who disagreed that they didn't want to be seen as causing trouble or being labelled 'feminist', a word that Heyhoe-Flint states as 'dirty'.¹⁷

It was certainly a question which provoked an emotional response. Several women 'strongly agreed' with the question, but none felt moved to 'strongly disagree'. St John writes 'its a game of snakes and ladders you can only go so far before discrimination, sexism or sexual harassment knocks you down.' The words of St John are curiously repeated in the

introductory quotes to Welch's autobiography where she quotes the words from a contemporary song 'I get knocked down, but I get up again'¹⁸ It has further significance in demonstrating how as a woman she had accessed the male world of sports writing, because it is also the language of football. The song she has chosen is one which was adopted by fans as an anthem to sing at football matches. There is a definite sense in her autobiography that she feels she has personally been knocked down often in her career as a sports journalist.

To fight against sex discrimination women needed a support system that would assist them in identifying the obstructive aspects which restricted them. Yet many of the earlier writers did not have the benefit of the equal opportunities legislation which appeared in the 1970s. Heyhoe-Flint recalls it did not take her long to realise the industry 'frowned' disapprovingly over the intrusion of women into the 'male domain' of sport, but how was she to fight against it?¹⁹ At this time women were only aided by their own ability to change the way their male colleagues related to them on an individual level. The Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 was intended to give women the means to fight against unfair restrictions of their treatment in the work place, but for women in sports writing.²⁰ It did not change the fact the contemporary women surveyed still felt it was a sexist profession. Curiously there were no examples of any women fighting sexism in tribunals because official legislation can never truly combat the 'unofficial' codes of unfairness, nor can it alter the way one individual perceives another.

However, what the legislation could provide was the ammunition to fight against their restrictions. As Kahn noted in her battle for equal access to all areas, she took the initiative after spending time in America and noting how women there used such laws to fight for their rights. She explained how women golf writers in America, faced with the same issue, used the laws to challenge discrimination. But her battle was not immediately effective. She was

¹⁷ Allegiance to feminism was an issue that some women felt would only make more problems for them. That by entering the profession quietly they would have more chance of success.

¹⁸ Welch, J. (1999). *Long Distance Information*. p. vii.

¹⁹ Heyhoe-Flint, R. (1978). *Heyhoe!* p 146.

²⁰ *Sex Discrimination- A Guide to the Sex Discrimination Act 1975*. Home Office reprinted with Amendments 1978.

not supported until the 1990s, and even then she believes the Equal Opportunities Commission were 'terribly woolly' and 'never any help'.²¹ The Masters tournament in America had 'admitted women since 1980, thanks to woman golf writer Melanie Hauser' and she wanted the same results.²² Kahn did try to use the awareness raised by the Sex Discrimination Act in 1975, but it did not work to the extent she had hoped. She describes her own battle against sexism as 'hell' because of the fact she wanted 'to alter men's rules', she was always seen as a 'trouble maker'. She felt that her own battle against the Royal & Ancient Golf Club (R & A) to gain access to the Open Golf Championship and the player's locker room needed to test the laws, but she did not get an opportunity to do so because access for women was finally granted in 1990. However, Kahn does believe access was only given because, the R & A were aware they could not win in court. The existence and tone of articles in the 1990s such as 'Giving the fair sex a fair run on the broadcasting fast track', 'Last War of Liberation' and the series on equality in the *Journalist* in 1994 suggests that sex discrimination was not solved by the Act.²³

A further complication was the ambiguity regarding what was and was not considered 'sex discrimination', it was a difficult task to demonstrate how previously accepted aspects of behaviour were suddenly considered unacceptable. In the case of women jump jockeys, the effect of the Act was considered a 'shock to the British racing world'.²⁴ Yet the success they had in gaining access did not stop the reaction of other males in horse racing, which was said to range from 'genuine horror to chauvinist mockery' summed up by jockey, Lester Piggot who said 'their bottoms are the wrong shape'.²⁵ The understanding of what women were and were not capable of was not seen so much as sex discrimination as 'natural' and it was this construction they had to fight in using the act.

²¹ The EOC were contacted and stated they did not have any information regarding women sports writers.

²² (1995). St John, L. *Out of Bounds*. p. 24.

²³ Marling, S. (1990). Giving the Fair Sex a Fair Run on the Broadcasting Fast Track. *Sunday Times*. 14 October. Section 3, p. 9. And Rantzen, E. (1990). Last War of Liberation at the BBC. *Times*. 18 October. p. 19.

²⁴ Alcock, A. (1978). *They're Off! The Story of the First Girl Jump Jockeys*. London: J.A. Allen. p. 7.

²⁵ Alcock, A. *Ibid*. p. 7.

However the Act was not written in a way that was particularly helpful to women sports writers. The conception of 'natural' roles had particular difficulties for them because of the ambiguity that was contained in such acts. Some sections of the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 details exceptions to the Act which were problematic.

Section 6 (2) - 3.6: Discrimination - present employees.: exceptions,

When a person's sex is a "genuine occupational qualification for the job.

- a) ie: modelling/dramatic performances - so that in either case the essential nature of the job would be materially different if carried out by a person of the other sex.
- b) Conditions of decency or privacy require the job to be held by a man (or woman)...because it is likely to involve physical contact between the job holder and men (or women) in circumstances where they might reasonably object to the job holder being of the opposite sex.²⁶

Section 44 7.3: There is a general exception for acts relating to participation as a competitor in certain sporting events which are confined to one sex. The sports to which the exception applies are those in which physical strength, stamina or physique are important, so that the average woman would be at a disadvantage in competition with the average man.²⁷

Section 44 -7.3 divides the sexes by biology and this reminder of gender difference in sport is an unequal distinction which transfers into sports writing. The problem with section 6 (2) was that the definition requires a subjective interpretation of the law. Is being 'male' a 'genuine' qualification of a sports writer? Kahn states the industry belief of 'all men together' created a male view of the profession, even to the extent that when she was competing against a man for the same job, she had to confront accusations that she did not need the money because she was married. She argues there was the assumption she was 'only playing' at her job because this type of 'masculine' employment was not 'natural' for her to undertake. Was this an acceptable 'genuine' instance of a reason to give the job to a man? Was it 'genuine' to ask a woman sports writer to promote a glamorous image for her newspaper by being asked to attend a football match that they were sponsoring to present the 'man of the match' award in a short skirt?²⁸ Blackpool Gazette reporter Petra Coveney asks this question in 'Would they have asked a Man?'.²⁹

I was told I was there to provide the glamour, but it didn't feel like it. It was freezing cold. I had to stand around for hours in a mini-skirt and then pose for the presentation picture for the front page. It was very much felt that reporters [women] who didn't go along with it would not get on.²⁹

²⁶ (1978). *Sex Discrimination- A Guide*. p.10.

²⁷ (1978). *Sex Discrimination- A Guide*. p.32.

²⁸ (1994). *Journalist*. February/March. p. 20.

²⁹ (1994). *Journalist*. February/March. p. 20.

Women had been used, and were still being used, for purposes of adornment in advertisements across the media, so how did it now become sex discrimination? The dilemma was that the naturalisation of gender codes made it difficult to convince the industry that such acts were now wrong.

In addition, the construed image of the type of women they should be, had an effect on the women themselves. Welch explains how this type of sexism transferred into her experiences, and relates it to early socialisation when a boy's success in sport is celebrated in school, yet a girl became 'deterred by the fear of being isolated or thought 'butch''.³⁰ She says it was a fear which did bother her, but she found herself living up to the image the industry had of women, in the glamorous sense, because she still wanted to prove she was not butch. She recalls times when she 'staggered freezing and uncomfortable to football games in the sartorial overkill of high heels tight skirts and jangling jewellery' just to emphasise the point.³¹ Although she resented the sexism of this situation she felt she knew she would not be accepted as a woman in sport if she looked like an 'old boot'. She believed women 'were only acceptable if they were attractive and 'feminine' as well as skilful and brilliant'.³² For her success did not come by using legislation to alter the way men in the profession viewed them, it occurred by blending into their expectations and then carrying out her job. It is the conflict of how men interpret the position of women's roles in employment which can turn into more extreme instances of sexual harassment. Sexual harassment was defined in an article entitled 'Hands Off!' in the *Journalist* (1994) as being 'whenever you are made to feel uncomfortable by a male because of your status as a women'.³³

While most of the responses from the women surveyed show that they were aware of their sex and often uncomfortable, one of the most severe incidents of sexual harassment was described by one of the questionnaire respondents, contemporary golf writer Lauren St John, who began her career in 1988. She believes she was a victim of various incidents of abuse because of 'the myths that prevail in virtually all male bastions where women are seen as

³⁰ Welch, J. (1999). *Long Distance Information*. p. 62.

³¹ Welch, J. *Long Distance Information*. p. 63.

³² Welch, J. *Ibid*. p. 63.

bimbos, tray carriers or insurgents'.³⁴ But the actual physical force of sexual harassment is a subject often surrounded by taboo and fear, with many women unwilling to discuss it. St John's account in *Out of Bounds* is the only example recorded or spoken about by women in sport writing found during the course of this study. In her book she explains that she understood that any new, recruit man or women, was likely to be subjected to some kind of harassment, so she withstood the early ostracism by her colleagues and took the kind of verbal hassle she had accepted because she thought it 'came with the job'.³⁵ She did not 'make waves' because, like Welch, she wanted success and if she were to cause trouble she knew she would be cast out, as happened to Kahn, who did fight the issue and was considered an outcast by fellow colleagues of both sexes and regarded with suspicion by her union. St John only realised the extent of the problem when she was attacked by a player in his hotel room. When the incident happened she knew she had allowed herself to be put into a vulnerable situation, but being new to the job and after being convinced that the interview could not take place anywhere else because his schedule was too full, she went along. She remembers how half way through,

he disappeared into the bathroom, when I heard the taps running, I became alarmed, I was hastily gathering my notebook and tape recorder when he leapt on me, naked except for a tiny towel, only allowing me to struggle free when I lied, pretended I liked him and promised to come back later.³⁶

She was placed in the type of compromising position her male colleagues would not have been confronted with or expected to deal with. While St John's experiences aren't limited to women in sports journalism or even journalism. Her own difficulties in reporting the subject could be the reason why there are no other incidents.

The crucial aspect of analysing sexism is how the profession dealt with such instances. The serious nature of the sexual harassment and the response of the golf world and its organisations to the complaints, was unfortunately one of neglect. St John also details another incident when a man, who she does not name, became particularly offensive and a real problem so she decided to report the incident to the Tour Supremo, Ken Schofield; the

³³ Curtis, L. (1994). *Hands Off! Journalist*. p. 16.

³⁴ St John, L. (1995). *Out of Bounds*. p. 94.

³⁵ St John, L. *Ibid.* p. 94.

³⁶ St John, L. (1995). *Ibid.* p. 94.

response was ignorance, silence and inactivity. She notes as she raised the subject with him he scurried across the car park claiming that he was too busy to look at it and to make a formal report. She did report the incident to the Tournament Director, John Paramour, but to her knowledge nothing was ever done about it and she didn't follow it up. Why? Because she felt sexual harassment 'was supposed to be suffered in silence' by its victims.³⁷ There is a sense in her attitude to these incidents that pushing them would interfere with her career, that being in a male profession sexual harassment was all part of the job. There was a definite display of complacency on one side and resignation on the other.

Sex discrimination and sexual harassment had a devastating effect on the way women's roles were viewed by the profession and how they were treated by the industry. While of course not all individual and personal relationships were bad, there was a general feeling from the women surveyed that their relationships were negatively affected because of their gender. Welch describes her relationship to her male colleagues, in symbolic terms as having the lesser important 'seat by the photocopier' in meetings, which she jokes was the 'editorial equivalent of the restaurant table by the lavs'. She says 'discovering that whenever I piped up the blokes would fall silent, wait respectfully for me to finish, then carry on with whatever they had been discussing before'.³⁸ This approach to her contribution sums up how the factors of her intrusion into their world affected her, she was outcast and her voice carried no authority.

One respondent, Joint, a local football reporter stated that when she entered sports reporting her relationships with men she already knew changed. She explained 'even though I knew the male reporters, I detected a resentment that I was now a football correspondent and they Hated [sic] it whenever I beat them to a story'. In the case of Amy Lawrence, a football writer, her experience shows that women in sports writing continued to have a hard time with males in the industry. She explained that it was

³⁷ St John, L. (1995). *Out of Bounds*. p. 95.

³⁸ Welch, J. (1999). *Long Distance Information*. p. 133.

harder to gain respect of some players and managers. They assume because you are a woman you don't know anything about football, that it's a waste of their time talking to you.³⁹

As a result she says she often found herself dropping in the 'odd fact' to prove herself.⁴⁰

Women remained an easy target for male interviewees and information sources to disregard because of the assumption of a inadequacy of knowledge, but they have managed to overcome this by proving their ability. St John gives an example of a similar occurrence in her encounter with a group of caddies on a train. They had taken a group decision not speak to her because she had written an article on a player's defeat in the Open Championship and quoted someone who blamed the caddie for failing to advise the player properly. She explained

My relations with the caddie ranks had been distinctly frosty. Like minority groups, caddies are allowed to criticise each other, but let anyone else find fault with them and they all band together in outrage.⁴¹

She braved their hostility and sat with them on the train arguing her position until she won them around by stating they could not have it both ways - expect credit for a win but not the criticism for defeat. She notes that 'instantly their mood changed. This was an argument that they could relate to'.⁴² By showing the strength of her convictions she was able to gain respect.

The tenuous state of their relationships with male contemporaries could also be seen when applying for membership of a group or association, particularly ones that had only previously allowed male members. Kahn claims she was kept out of the Press Golfing Association, an organisation for members of the press to meet, play golf together and also an opportunity for networking, for seven years. 'They said I couldn't join because they didn't play at any clubs where I could play', but when she asked where they played that didn't allow women 'they couldn't think of any' examples. She was then told it was because 'they did not give women's prizes'. When asked to define a 'woman's prize' they could not do this either. However despite this initial resistance she later became their first woman member and woman captain.

³⁹ Coddington, A. (1997). *One of the Lads*. p. 181.

⁴⁰ Coddington, A. Ibid. p. 182.

⁴¹ St John, L. (1995). *Out of Bounds*. p. 213

⁴² St John, L. (1995). *Out of Bounds*. p. 213

Her attempt at membership was a factor of her professional relationships which Kahn resented, but she understood. She explains the society had been male-only since its establishment in 1904 and did not know how to respond to a woman in 1974. They had 'hardly heard of women's lib', yet they were able to change their response towards women and now they want 'mixed everything'. Her experience of the Press Golfing Society is an example of how areas of the profession are gendered, but it is also evidence of change.

In her autobiography, Heyhoe-Flint recalls a particularly 'explosive' encounter with a male colleague when she was asked to cover for the normal male football writer and attend a 'Wolves' press conference. She carried out the assignment as instructed and did the necessary interviews and photo shoots, satisfactorily completing the two page spread that had been reserved for the story. For Heyhoe-Flint she was simply doing the job as asked and was quite proud of the way she had taken on the task. Her male colleague was angry because she had become a threat to him by trespassing on his domain. Another common occurrence is when men often 'make it clear they resent a female rival', but are the same men who would be 'flattered' to 'act as a mentor for a young male journalist'⁴³ Not only did Heyhoe-Flint's colleague not want to extend her any means of support; she explains he was angry at her success in being given a 'by-line', that meant the work had been attributed to a woman. This was the factor that most upset him. He believed she was trying to 'upstage' him and resulted in him launching not only a verbal assault, but also a physical one in the form of a wire filing tray which he threw at her. She proved her own sporting ability by catching the tray and throwing it back at him, which she notes ended the argument.⁴⁴ The fact that this ended the dispute was also a symbolic demonstration of how an act of 'masculine' strength and aggression confirmed the authenticity of her sporting authority.

In Welch's experience this resistance to a woman in a male domain showed itself in her habitual humiliation every time she entered the press box. Initially she noted she was 'feminised' by the assumption she was someone's girlfriend, but when she did not conform to this expectation they responded to her as a 'female' in other ways. The most common was to

⁴³ Fitzhenry, M. (1990). Stop Press. p. 35.

question her sporting knowledge. 'The older ones were terribly patronizing, explaining what a penalty was. I smoked a lot then and they'd tell me I shouldn't - they'd never have said that to a man'.⁴⁵ Other times she experience a more physical form of sexual harassment. When asked in an article if her colleagues pinched her bottom she replied, 'Oh yes, football might be our first national interest, but sex comes a close second'.⁴⁶ As the lone woman in the press box Welch was often seen as the sexual object. As writers like Mott and Coddington argue it cannot be assumed that women go to male matches on a sexualised basis because they 'fancy' the players.⁴⁷ The voyeuristic conjecture is one women are continually faced with. Lawrence emphasised in her interview that her 'professional relationship' with colleagues had 'nothing to do with fancying each other'.⁴⁸

In Welch's autobiography, she is haunted by her past negative interaction with male colleagues and this affects her decision to return to her job in the late 1990s. In the book she creates a fictional male character called Ronal Goldblatt to represent the type of male she feared working with again. She recounted how she could feel his 'ghost' on her return whispering 'women in the press box! So it's come to that'.⁴⁹ She also gave accounts of other men clearly resentful of her presence greeting her with comments of 'it's our last acre of sacred ground' 'we don't interfere with your sewing and cooking. Why would you want to interfere with our football'?⁵⁰ The reaction to her doing a 'non-feminine' role was the simple reason she encountered continued abuse and it made her 'miserable'. Even years later the effects of their animosity were still fresh in her mind and had become part of the decision whether she should return to her career as a sports writer.

For Kahn, her presence as an 'outsider' was confirmed by a dearth of support from her male colleagues. In all her fights for equal access to the various aspects of golf clubs, which she spent 30 years battling to enter, she did not feel she had their support. Instead she argues,

⁴⁴ Heyhoe-Flint, R. (1978). *Heyhoe!* p 148.

⁴⁵ Maggach, D. (1983). Julie's Action Replay. *Times*. 16 November. p. 9

⁴⁶ Maggach, D. (1983). *Ibid.* p. 9

⁴⁷ Coddington, A. (1997). *One of the Lads*. And Mott, S. (1996). *A Girl's Guide*.

⁴⁸ Coddington, A. (1997). *Ibid.* p. 183.

⁴⁹ Welch, J. (1999). *Long Distance Information*. p. 62.

⁵⁰ Welch, J. *Ibid.* p. 62.

'they couldn't care less. They never stand up for you. It's more a case of 'Oh well, she's here again, she shouldn't have come if she can't get in'.⁵¹

As a woman she found her identity as 'female' and all that it represented to her male peers, was more significant than her alliance to them as a fellow journalist facing bigotry from an outside source. Women who crossed the boundaries of their gender role had to deal with the chaos that ensued when men in the industry could not reconcile their position, whether the adherence to 'feminisation', came in the form of anger, patronisation or lack of support. Although women have faced a great deal of hardship because of the way they were placed in opposition to their male colleagues, that is not to say they did not have some positive aspects to their associations. Mott highlights the fact that many women were encouraged into sport by the males around them.

It would only be right and proper to point out that many of us at work in sport these days are there because of the tireless support of our dads and husbands and employers and other chaps who genuinely believe that a woman in the press box or in the scrum need not to be a toxic hazard.⁵²

Kahn recalled a sports editor in her early days at the *Guardian* who she considered very supportive, even when she expressed the desire to cover men's sports as well as women's sports. This was not the only encounter she had with helpful editors. Another at the *Daily Telegraph* was dedicated to her training and was prepared to send her and support her attendance at male events. Even Heyhoe-Flint detailed incidents of support from her colleagues. When she lost the England women's cricket team captaincy her male colleagues were empathetic and sympathetic. They were familiar with the inner workings of sport would have been appreciative of her devastation.⁵³ At least in this regard, she had managed to challenge some of the gender distinction and gain respect of those around her. The support of these men were crucial in the development of women sports writers.

Many women were able to have a working relationship with their male colleagues that was based on journalistic integrity and not defined by gender. Simon Barnes, a male sports writer noted a general alliance of sports writers, that they were not rivals and most people tend to

⁵¹ Information from interview with Liz Kahn.

⁵² Mott, S. (1996). *A Girl's Guide*. p. 11.

⁵³ Heyhoe-Flint, R. (1978). *Heyhoe!* p 151.

help each other. In instances such as borrowing a quote that is public knowledge, checking a fact or using a phone he argues most people will be helpful.⁵⁴ There is some evidence it did occur for women. Kahn, who was particularly uninspired by her colleague's reaction to her fight for access, did acknowledge that they would act in a professional manner when it came to this type of journalistic help. Women may not as a whole have been able to work on an equal basis with their male contemporaries, but there were occasions where professional behaviour overrode prejudice. There were always individual men who were prepared to fight with women against the restrictions they faced. One example, was the case of Henry Cotton, himself an established and well respected player, who fought for their rights by boycotting the Royal Liverpool Clubhouse when it did not permit his wife entrance. For the remainder of the tournament he got ready in his car.⁵⁵ While not in direct relationship to women sports writers his actions indicate how some men were prepared to fight for the rights of women where they found them unjust.

There are varying accounts of women's relationships with male colleagues in war reporting, but Sebba notes in the early stages of World War II there was a

discernible change in attitude amongst male reporters from merely tolerating women ..to being admired...also there were not yet enough of them to be seen... as a threat, which made for generally good working relationships.⁵⁶

Yet in the case of women and sport writing the opposite seems to happen because it was not until the 1990s where there were sufficient enough numbers in the industry to show women were serious about their work and it became possible for them to command respect from colleagues. Also it was not until this time when the relationship between gender and sport were being disputed to the degree where woman could show their authority in this area. In war reporting accounts indicate they were able to win over their colleagues by their presence and determination in such a dangerous area alone.

⁵⁴ Barnes, S. (1989). *A Sportswriters Year*. p. 12.

⁵⁵ Mair, L. (1980). *The Dunlop Lady Golfer's Companion*. Suffolk, Lavenham: Eastland Press. p. 52.

⁵⁶ Sebba, A. (1994). *Battling for News*. p. 147.

The war correspondents studied recall some good working examples with their male colleagues. Clare Hollingworth explains her relationship to Hugh Carleton Greene on her first job for the *Daily Telegraph*, who she writes 'could not have been more cordial'. It was not until later that she realised that not many 'foreign correspondents would have so cheerfully welcomed an unknown female as an assistant.'⁵⁷ Another war correspondent Marguerite Higgins was called by a male colleague 'the best combat buddy I ever had' and he felt that she could 'pull him out of a jam as well as any man'.⁵⁸ His comments show he valued the trust they had built up as partners and he was not concerned with her sex. This sort of association is based on individual relationships, a fact which was not beyond the profession of sports writing, but acceptance certainly took much longer.

Yet in journalism, men dominated the press box and the club house. They were not hindered in their access to forms of accreditation, contacts and union support. They were the ones who were welcomed into the golf club locker rooms for friendly chats with male players.⁵⁹ Even the most basic of facilities, such as toilets, were traditionally only provided for men. Equal opportunities for women in sports journalism simply were not on the same basis. One female writer, who entered the press lounge at a male professional football match for the first time, remarked 'one can think of few more exclusively male gatherings'.⁶⁰ Welch thought that she was made to feel as welcome as a 'skunk' and Heyhoe-Flint describes herself as being a 'press outcast'.⁶¹ In Heyhoe-Flint's case above it wasn't just a feeling, but a fact. During her time at the *Wolverhampton Chronicle* in 1965 - 67 the local football club she reported on did discriminate against women reporters. She explains

I regularly covered Wolves football, where I was something of a press outcast due to the club's policy then of not allowing women in the press box. I was instead given a free seat in the front row of the grandstand.⁶²

⁵⁷ Hollingworth, C. (1990). *Front Line*. p. 13.

⁵⁸ Hollingworth, C. (1990). *Ibid*. p. 340.

⁵⁹ The practice of conducting interviews in locker rooms is unique to sports like tennis and golf. In England where there is traditionally a separate lounge area where the interview can take place that is not near the showers or changing rooms. Sports such as male professional football and rugby do not allow journalists of any gender into the locker rooms.

⁶⁰ Maggach, D. (1983). *Julie's Action Replay*. p. 9

⁶¹ Welch, J. (1984). *Those Glory Glory Days*. p. 51. And Heyhoe-Flint, R. (1978). *Heyhoe!* p. 147.

⁶² Heyhoe-Flint, R. *Ibid*. p. 147.

Although she was reallocated another seat to watch the game she did not have access to the same facilities as the male reporters: ie a place to work undisturbed and a telephone to relay reports back to the office. Ironically this club later employed her as a Public Relations officer. The discrimination against women was not simply a case of restricting women's access to employment; it also limited women in the undertaking of their professional duties.

The situation of women wanting access to the press box was so unusual it was frequently assumed they were not there to work. Welch used her fictional character to give examples of the typical type of discrimination she herself faced. When Welch's character in her fictional play entered the press box for the first time she was met with a polite request to leave and a patronising explanation. While trying to find a seat and a phone to send back her report a male colleague mistook her for a reporter's girlfriend and 'gently' advised her girlfriends were not allowed in the box. Her response was to rebuttal that she would not be bringing any 'girlfriends', she was then grabbed by the elbow by someone who offered to take care of her and led her away while saying:

These phones are for reporters, they have to telephone their newspapers on them. There's a pay phone in the corridor. You use that, my dear. No one'll mind. As long as you keep your voice down.⁶³

She was forced to phone in her story from under the stand because she was a woman. Her gender was the sole reason why she did not have access to the facilities of her male colleagues.

The men in the press box may have been resentful of the intrusion by women, but they were not successful in keeping women like Heyhoe-Flint or Welch out. Welch is largely credited as making the breakthrough, not through the type of legal battle Kahn had thought necessary, but through her sheer perseverance. Welch maintained that access to the press box was an essential part of her job and therefore she must be allowed inside, a determination which made her unpopular with many of her male colleagues. As women began to increase in numbers as a result of her achievements and high profile, she was targeted with hateful comments. She was met with remarks like 'its all your fault' or 'you

⁶³ Welch, J. (1984). *Those Glory Glory Days*. p. 54.

started it' and 'all these bloody women in the press box'.⁶⁴ As the unintended women's champion she became the antihero for many men, despite the fact she had not knowingly campaigned for the inclusion of all women.

Welch's action did benefit later women who as a result of her campaigning did not face the same obstacles. Rudd argues that she was often asked if she felt like an 'outsider' in a man's world, but stated it was not a feeling she encountered. In fact she spoke of incidences where her male colleagues in the press box were friendly towards her and 'did not patronise' or confront her with 'cheap jibes', even though she was still the lone female.⁶⁵ Another 1990s sports writer, Laura Thompson, was aware of how 'terrible' it could be for a woman at the mercy of 'male journalists in press boxes', but found this had not been her experience. For the more contemporary writers it appeared that the realities of their working lives in gaining access to the press box had been vastly improved by the accomplishments of those before them.

Women war correspondents also had to fight for their right to gain access to the press camps on the front line. They too were faced with the belief that the front line was considered unsuitable for them and so the press camps became the sole reserve of male reporters. When they demanded access they were refused admittance through official restrictions. Iris Carpenter of the *Boston Globe* was an English woman who could not get accreditation with a home newspaper and was forced to join an American paper. However, accreditation did not stop her continuing to face a struggle to gain entry to the press camps. She was initially confined to travelling only on hospital ships, with the nurses. This was based on the assumption that as a woman she would not want to write on the horror of the front line and be happy writing the 'feminine' stories of the incidents affecting other women, such as the Red Cross and the nurses. The usual place for all the other male correspondents was at the camps with the facilities of jeep drivers, teletype, radio transmissions and censors.⁶⁶ She finally won the right of access and stayed on with the Army. Like Welch she did so by

⁶⁴ Welch, J. (1999). *Long Distance Information*. p. 66.

⁶⁵ Rudd, A. (1998). *Astroturf Blonde*. p. 69.

⁶⁶ Wagnor, L. (1989). *Women War Correspondents*. p. 22.

convincing them it was essential for her to be able to do her job properly. Those who did not find a way into the press camps, still managed to find alternative means of getting access to the story, like Heyhoe-Flint. Confined to the ships with the nurses Carpenter notes ironically, the hospital ships often got nearer to the front line action than the press camps and although she was technically not supposed to leave the ship she managed to send back some 'excellent accounts about the wounded'.⁶⁷ Yet like the women sports writers, without access to the facilities of the press camp her work was hindered by additional obstacles which were not the concern of men. In addition, this led to women facing more danger, by trying to find a way around, than they would have been if merely accepted to the front line in the first place. However they were successful in gaining access even in the First World War, whereas Welch did not start her conquest of sports writing until the 1970s.

The provision of toilets for women was another reason why they were refused admittance to press boxes and other essential areas, and this was also one of the major hurdles for some of the earlier pioneers. The possibility that men and women could share the existing facilities was not considered and represented another form of sexism. When Higgins was asked about her time in Vietnam and Korea she replied, 'the Marines use the bushes on one side of the road and I use them on the other'.⁶⁸ Her blunt description of the practicalities of life on the front line removes the myth that a lack of facilities was a valid reason for their exclusion. It also questions the original reasons from banning women from press camps because they were considered unsuitable places. The manner in which she dismissed the need for any special treatment showed women can and did possess the strength and capabilities for dealing with the hardships of the front line. She presents a logical and practical approach to one of the largest obstacles thrown at them.

The symbolism of this type of exclusion can be seen in the establishment of the 'Julie Welch Memorial Loo' at White Hart Lane (the football ground for Tottenham Hotspur FC). This is true evidence of the effect her presence has had in assisting future women in their quest for

⁶⁷ Wagnor, L. (1989). *Women War Correspondents*. p. 23.

⁶⁸ Schlipp, M. G. and Murphy, S. M. (1983). *Great Women of the Press*. p. 196.

entry into the press boxes.⁶⁹ Welch describes how originally she 'had to wait outside until the men's was empty, then post a sentry behind the door while I nipped in'.⁷⁰ Her own determination to prove that she was not going to give up and go away brought about a change in the construction of facilities for the profession. It also ensured that other young women would not have to experience the humiliation she did. She described her situation as 'an unsuspecting young football reporter' who opened a door marked 'press' and found herself 'in a gentlemen's toilet with six pairs of eyes (and who knows what else?) turned accusingly upon her'.⁷¹ Her pioneering role guaranteed that the question of facilities would not be an barricade for the next generation.

Another issues of access was the golf club house. For golf writers the host club house is essential because of the facilities and information it holds within. This is the place where the players and officials go after playing to meet and have a drink, and stories often appear out of these informal chats. Kahn argued that the clubhouse was a crucial place, where players unwind and relax and began to open up on their thoughts of the day. She says 'if I am not around to write on them how can I report on them?' Yet she was not surprised at her treatment by the Royal & Ancient Golf Club because of the fact that they and other high profile clubs like Muirfield and Royal St George, did not have women members.⁷² She explains that for clubs like these it is no wonder a women entering in Open week as a journalist 'is strange for them'. Even where women members are allowed they face restrictions on when they could play, where they could enter in the club house, and the voice they had in the running of the club. St John argues that the beliefs which have kept the sports 'clean, wholesome image' are the same ones which confine it to 'old fashioned values'.⁷³ Her comments indicate that it is ironically the same factors which preserve its sporting status which suppressed the status of women.

⁶⁹ Maggach, D. (1983). *Julie's Action Replay*. p. 9

⁷⁰ Maggach, D. (1983) *Ibid*. p. 9

⁷¹ Welch, J. (1999). *Long Distance Information*. p. 62.

⁷² The R & A has responsibility for the Rules of Amateur Status. It has run the Open and Amateur Championships since 1920 and also selections the teams to represent Great Britain and Ireland for events like the Walker Cup, St Andrews Trophy and World Amateur Team Championship. There it is important to note the power they held in the game and what this would mean for Kahn's challenge to their procedures.

⁷³ St John, L. (1995). *Out of Bounds*. p. 12.

But Kahn, like Welch, did fight against the institutional sexism and was celebrated by later generations. She was referred to by Sue Mott as a 'sporting suffragette'.⁷⁴ In her interview Kahn recalled incidents where she was unable to follow colleagues into the clubhouse for a drink at the St Andrews for the British Open in 1970 and was 'roared' at to 'get out' by the then Club Secretary, Keith Mackenzie, when she stepped inside the clubhouse door for the Open in 1978.⁷⁵ She did not meekly leave when requested, in one instance she was physically removed, after disputing that the accreditation of her AGW badge permitted her entrance as a journalist. She argued if wives of players were now allowed in, how could she be refused on the basis of gender. She was unsuccessful, but continued to challenge their rules.

The views towards women in the golf institutions were so greatly embedded as the 'norm' that in some instances it was not even aware of the distress the restrictions caused women sports writers. Kahn argued women writers had to deal with the perception of 'golfing men', those who she said 'treat golfing women as some sort of sub-species (they call them 'ladies' for a start. Why don't they call them women?)'.⁷⁶ Their handling of her was the same as a result of the traditional behaviour towards women as members of golf clubs. Women were not allowed full access in membership and being a journalist was not an exception. The relegation of women member is transferred onto all other women and the codes of conduct are not challenged or changed. The official response of the Open Championship, by Press Office Steward McDougall, said women journalists have all always been allowed into the hosts clubhouse 'for as long as people can remember...certainly over fifty years'.⁷⁷ A similar sentiment was also echoed when Kahn asked for permission to enter the locker rooms for interviews in 1990 and was told by the deputy Secretary of the R & A, Micheal Bonallack that 'women had been allowed in the locker room for years'. But this belief was not Kahn's reality or the situation which was recorded in the ASW minutes. (See Appendix 2.2).

⁷⁴ Mott, S. (1996). *A Girl's Guide*. p. 143.

⁷⁵ Kahn, L. (1992). I've Seen More Flesh on the M1 Roadworks! *The Mail on Sunday*. 19 July. p. 93.

⁷⁶ Mott, S. (1996). To the Revolution. *Daily Telegraph*. 21 October. p. 57.

⁷⁷ Letter from Stewart McDougall, Press Officer to the Open Golf Championship, 8th December 1999.

The problem seemed to be a lack of recognition of the difficulties women were having. As a lone woman Kahn was easily ignored and with women members of the golf clubs not challenging the situation, it was perpetuated. For example, McDougall, the official spokesperson did not believe there was a problem. He answered that it may have been the case that 'a few of the clubs had restriction as to which parts of the clubhouse women were permitted to enter' but he did not see this as an issue because of the scarcity of women covering the sport at the time.

Until the 1960s few, perhaps 40 to 50, journalists attended the Open, and of these there might have been as few as one woman. Problems of the clubhouse access therefore did not occur.⁷⁸

But it did happen and even if it was only for one woman, it was still sexist to view her as a 'woman' and not a journalist. Kahn noted in 1990 that the Royal & Ancient had actually,

shifted its policy in the last decade, opening club house doors every six years in Open Championship week to women journalists, who can enter the South Room. At all other times women are barred from the clubhouse.⁷⁹

This decision while beneficially for women sports writers does not alter the relegated position of women in the golfing world.

Kahn's prohibition from the club house was only one issue of access which affected her in her job. Once she gained admittance, she realised that most of her male colleagues were also carrying out interviews in the locker room.⁸⁰ A further problem which she described as

it is one thing to struggle for equality in a man's world, quite another to cross the threshold that for so many years has remained forbidden territory.⁸¹

The locker room has traditionally been a place of contention for women sports writers and the industry of journalism as a whole. The entrance into this location aroused issues of privacy and voyeurism. But it has also been a place which has been valued for its potential in providing a story. When advocating sports writing as a suitable profession for women in 1949 Graham suggests in covering a local tennis tournament 'it would be useful to have the right of entry to the various dressing rooms of the stars'.⁸² Although the supposition at this time was that **women** would cover **women's** sports, it is clear there is something about the

⁷⁸ Letter from Stewart McDougall, December 1999.

⁷⁹ Kahn, L. (1990). Out of Bounds in Stronghold of Male Sport. *The Mail on Sunday*. 22 July. p. 24.

⁸⁰ The term locker room is used, rather than the more familiar British term 'dressing room', because it is the one used by Kahn and the AGW when discussing these problems.

⁸¹ Kahn, L. (1992). *I've Seen More Flesh*. p. 93.

domain of the player that intrigues the sports writer into finding a story there. The dilemma for the post 1970s writers was that although they were often covering men's sports, when sex entered the equation the intimate nature of the dressing room became the stronger issue. The professional reality of this situation for women, like Kahn, was hanging around outside trying to gain an interview before they went in or after they came out, a time when players are not at their most relaxed and that makes quality information hard to come by.

For Kahn the decision to finally take direct action began surrounding a locker room incident, which occurred after she thought she had finally won equal access. In 1990 at St Andrews when she was 'frog-marched' out of the building by the locker room attendant after simply enquiring as to the availability of a player. She fought back by using her power to address this issue by writing about it in her newspaper. The paper introduced her article stating:

Liz Kahn, golf contributor to the *Mail on Sunday* was thrown out of the Royal and Ancient club house at St Andrews last week because she is a woman. Here she relives the indignity.⁸³

She used this chance to raise the unfairness of her treatment and advised the reader that her only crime, which branded her a 'trouble-maker', was being a woman.⁸⁴ Her sole desire was 'equal access and opportunity to do my job' and her belief that this was an 'age of equal opportunity' which had been 'quickly slapped down by the establishment of golf, which remains unenlightened'.⁸⁵ She was ejected on the simple basis that neither the members nor the players would like her presence. Yet aside from a few humorous jibes from Ronan Rafferty and Gordon Brand Jnr. (who Kahn notes were actually 'staunch supporters of my quest') the players did not have a problem with her and those that did (she names Tom Watson) still did not hinder her in doing her job.⁸⁶ If the players had accepted her, then she argued the golfing establishments were unfounded in their previous restrictions.

Kahn did find success and achieved her 'small slice of history' after a lengthy fight. She was escorted into the locker room by the Secretary of the R&A, Michael Bonallack, the man she

⁸² Graham, M. (1949). *Journalism for Women*. London: Werner Laurie. p. 75.

⁸³ Kahn, L. (1990). *Out of Bounds in Stronghold of Male Sport*. p. 24.

⁸⁴ Kahn, L. (1990) *Ibid*. p. 24.

⁸⁵ Kahn, L. (1990). *Ibid*. p. 24.

⁸⁶ Kahn, L. (1992). *I've Seen More Flesh*. p. 93.

credits as changing the 'masculine world', because he was 'sympathetic' to women journalists having equal opportunities. The change occurred in 1992 when he entered with her as a show of support for her right to be there and to make sure she was allowed into the locker room 'at the exclusively male club of Muirfield'.⁸⁷ McDougall recalls it was after 'repeated representation' by women journalists 'that it was agreed in order for them to properly carry out their job, they should be allowed into the men's locker room. This situation remains at present'.⁸⁸ Kahn may have begun as the lone woman, but there were soon more following her and wanting the same access she had spent years fighting for. After obtaining admittance, Kahn wrote another article on her accomplishments and spoke of the benefits she had gained by being present. For example, she was just hanging around and chatting informally to a player who revealed to her his feelings about an old report when the journalist had written that he would not shake another player's hand. He told her the allegations were not true and told her his side of the story, something she said she would never have 'found THAT[sic] out if I had still been standing out in the rain'.⁸⁹ This was a sign to Kahn that the nature of the information revealed in the locker room was certainly valuable and she should not be prevented from receiving it.

The main disadvantage women had in accessing the locker rooms was because it was an area where the physical nature of gender difference was on display, but it was not the only issue surrounding the locker room controversy. In Britain there is the belief that 'it's a private world where nobody should intrude', that it is a place only for the players and coaches.⁹⁰ In an article by Welch, 'Is Sport Game for Women' in the *Times* she claims 'the problem in Britain is caused by a reporter's status rather than gender': it has as much to do with the attitude towards all journalists invading private space and the prudish nature of British society than basic sexism.⁹¹ In sports, like soccer and rugby, it is a place where players and athletes use it for the practical use of showering and changing, and no journalist is allowed

⁸⁷ Kahn, L. (1992). I've Seen More Flesh. p. 93.

⁸⁸ Letter from Stewart McDougall, Press Officer to the Open Golf Championship, 8th December 1999.

⁸⁹ Kahn, L. (1992) Ibid. p. 93.

⁹⁰ Welch, J. (1990). Is Sport Game for Women. *The Times*. 12 October. p. 18.

⁹¹ Welch, J. (1990) Ibid. p. 18.

entry.⁹² At Wimbledon journalists are not permitted in the locker rooms and separate interviewing areas are instead set up, so the question of access to locker rooms does not need to arise. Louise Taylor of the *Times* agreed there was no purpose for the intrusion into male locker rooms and stated 'why should we embarrass the players' as long as women have the same access to the players in the press area.⁹³ Another example was when a woman writing for *Time Out* was asked to interview Mike Brearley, the English cricket captain at Lords in 1978, another notorious male institution. She had arranged to meet him after the match, but found she had trouble making the staff believe she had permission. Once she was allowed in, she found herself in the male locker room and full of 'naked and steaming bodies', she says she backed out and the interview took place somewhere more convenient.⁹⁴ The privacy of the locker rooms were upheld unless they were giving access to some journalists and not others, then it was no longer an issue of privacy but equal access.

The locker room was clearly not an issue for all women sports writers in Britain, and it has only been a issue in certain sports, but as Kahn's situation demonstrated, when interviews were taking place in an area where only women were prevented from entering, then this was when the problems of sex discrimination occurred. There are several significant differences in the issues which are raised here. In the first instance the locker room was not an obstacle for the cricket writer in getting her story because she had the choice to conduct the interview elsewhere. Whereas the sole purpose of Kahn's fight was to have the potential to get the same sources of information as her male colleagues. The second difference with Kahn was that she was not fighting for entrance into an area where there was nudity. Kahn argues the areas where journalists undertook interviews in golf locker rooms, does not contain nudity with players generally changing no more than their shoes or gloves. She described them as convivial places 'they have a dining area, a sitting area' and they change their shoes. On her first entrance into a male locker room she said,

My small step for womankind took me into the intimidating inner sanctum of the men's locker room - nowhere near the urinals, you must understand...I've seen more

⁹² Welch, J. (1990). *Is Sport Game for Women*. p. 18.

⁹³ Welch, J. (1990). *Ibid*. p. 18.

⁹⁴ Sebba, A. (1994). *Battling for News*. p. 252.

flesh on the M1 road works. The most any professional golfer might rip off is a left-handed glove.⁹⁵

Her emphasis was that she was not intruding upon the privacy of players where they would be in a state of undress, as the woman cricket writer found. Once Kahn raised this point and it was accepted by the institution as a whole she found her argument approved. The AGW explained when they became aware that the 'shower room in nearly every clubhouse was set apart for the locker rooms' they realised male journalists were using this location to interview players, and decided where 'layout permitted' women would be also allowed access.⁹⁶

The situation in America is vastly different. The issue of nudity does not stop women fighting for access to male locker rooms. American locker rooms are not held up as private areas where any journalist is denied entry. They have long been part of the demand for immediacy of information which is part of their style of sports writing. Therefore women in American did get access to male locker rooms and this sparked a great debate on why they needed to enter. One woman sports writer addressed this factor in an article which argued she went into the locker room not because she wanted to but because she had to, to interview athletes. She wrote

it's not exciting or sexy or tantalizing [sic]...but most stadiums are too old to have room big enough for all reporters and players to meet for interviews. So the only place we can do our jobs is in the locker room.⁹⁷

It is this reason which made it a far more complex situation, with the fight for equal access meaning that American women did have to face nudity while doing their job.

These women were not like Kahn, a lone woman trying to break down the gender ideals of an old fashioned institution, they were equipped with tough equality laws to use whenever a team tried to prevent access. In the 1970s and 1980s women in American did face the same indignity as Kahn, being 'bodily tossed' out of male locker rooms because of their gender when male colleagues conducted interviews inside. They received their first official entry in 1978 after a case was brought in 1976 by Melissa Ludtke, a *Sports Illustrated* reporter where

⁹⁵ Kahn, L. (1992). I've Seen More Flesh. p. 93.

⁹⁶ Letter from Marc Garrod, Hon. Secretary. June 23 1999.

she won access to the New York Yankee's club house. She was protected by her 14th Amendment right 'to pursue her profession with equal protection under the law'.⁹⁸ However, its impact was not instant nor did it stretch to all women. Lesley Visser, a sportscaster for CBS recalls she was 'thrown out of Houston's locker room at the 1980 Cotton Bowl despite having the proper credentials'.⁹⁹ By 1990 their acceptance was in the majority, although problems did still exist, there were precedents now set which allowed them to contest this treatment. At this time there were around 500 women sports writers who would still face some resistance to their position, even 12 years after they had won the right from a Federal Court to enter the locker room as part of their constitutional rights.¹⁰⁰ The American women were protected by a more clearly defined system of legislation, but like British women, gaining entry did not mean they were automatically accorded acceptance by the sporting institutions. Although American women sports writers do argue that the case for equal opportunities would be different if the genders of the sports and journalists were reversed and the only reason it does not arise for men, is that the women's sports which do get coverage, like golf and tennis close their locker rooms to all.¹⁰¹ As in Britain where this occurs it removed the issue of equal access entirely. The debates surrounding locker rooms in America are continuing.¹⁰²

Where the necessity to enter the locker rooms for information was eliminated, the gender issues were resolved. When interviews were arranged in a neutral press area this allowed women the opportunity to perform their duties as journalists and not as 'women'. This was a view supported by the AGW. Although women members had now won the right to enter locker rooms the need was now not so important with the developments on the European Tour. The decision to appoint a press officer who would take care of the interview requests

⁹⁷ Brennan, C. (1990). Jocks, Gender and Justice: A Woman Sports Reporter's View from the Men's locker room. *The Washington Post*. 30 September. p. D1

⁹⁸ Brennan, C. (1990). Jocks, Gender and Justice. p. D2.

⁹⁹ Finn, R. (1990). Female Reporters see Renewed Resistance. *New York Times*. 3 October. p. D31.

¹⁰⁰ Finn, R. (1990). Ibid. p. D31.

¹⁰¹ Brennan, C. (1990). Ibid. p. D2.

¹⁰² Ironically, after her lengthy fight to gain access to male locker rooms in Britain she was shocked to later find herself barred from female one's in American when writing her book on the LPGA. This time she notes she was an 'outsider' because of the players suspicion of the media.

of all journalists, means they would take place either in the press tent or in the main area of the clubhouse and lessened the need to access traditionally sacred male domains.¹⁰³ The only area the AGW advise was still 'out of bounds' to all journalist was the 'players lounge' because it was 'felt only right that they have their own private area'.¹⁰⁴ On this basis access was not a concern for women because the decision was not taken on the basis of gender.

A further access problem was the system of accreditation which was often used to regulate the attendance of journalists. Many of the women, used their accreditation to try and prove their rights of access. The procedure was originally instigated to ensure that only bona fide journalists were allowed access to the facilities and information of the press area. In addition it was a system which was applied when there was only a limited amount of space for the press and entrance to an event was limited. However for women writers it became another form of sex discrimination. From the earliest part of the century the question of accreditation was an issue for all women journalists. In 1897, and later in 1915, the SWJ would stress the benefits of membership for a woman journalist was because it gave them a means of accreditation. They advised their members that using their name on a letter or card 'ensures a certain amount of fair treatment' and could help them gain admission to certain areas.¹⁰⁵ In this way the union used its own form of accreditation to assist them in the demonstration of their professional intent.

The main event which required accreditation was the Olympic games and the official reports show that it was a problematic area.¹⁰⁶ The reason for the accreditation process was to guarantee that the seats which were reserved for the press, were used by genuine journalists

¹⁰³ Letter from Marc Garrod, Hon. Secretary. June 23 1999.

¹⁰⁴ Letter from Marc Garrod, Hon. Secretary. June 23 1999.

¹⁰⁵ (1897). *Fourth Annual Report of the Society of Women Journalists*. (1915). Trade Unionism and the Woman Journalist. *The Woman Journalist*. 29. September. p. 3.

¹⁰⁶ However as the details are different in each report, this made a direct analysis of individual games impossible. For example while it was possible to get complete records for 1996, older information was not stored by either organisation and there was no information at all for 1900 or 1904 games, where the IOC explained details of journalist 'were 'lost' amidst the Universal Exhibition'.¹⁰⁶ One aspect which can be studied is the growth rate of the accreditation process from 12 journalists in 1896 to 100 in 1908 and finally 3,144 in 1996, but no details of the sex of the journalist were available. Yet as the numbers grew so did the need for a strict accreditation system and it was here the trouble would begin for women.

and not people who merely wanted to watch the events for free. This issue was addressed in the 1936 official report of the Berlin games which noted 'special measures' were taken to 'separate the actual press representative' from those 'alleged' journalists who utilised their actual or pretended journalistic capacity as an excuse for free admission'.¹⁰⁷ This report stated it would give 'first consideration' to the 'representatives of the large news agencies', while the 1924 report details the selection procedure would be to ask the newspapers if they were going to send a representative and applications were then received, considered and issued by the appropriate bodies by what they 'deemed a fair order of merit'.¹⁰⁸ The question was how fair was this action for women who were struggling to get access to staff employment in such newspapers and agencies? However there was some evidence of women's attendance in the records available. In 1912 there were 29 accredited British journalists, only one women, Mrs George Adams of the *Truth* and Mr George Adams was listed as working for Reuters. By 1924 there were 32 British journalists listed, including - Miss I Ramsay of the *Sunday Times* - while 1932 recorded 14 British journalists of whom 3 were women.

Deciding who would be given accreditation continued to raise new issues. It was noted in the 1976 report of the Montreal games that the National Organising Committee of each country would prepare initial lists of organisations and individuals and forwarded accreditation forms to the host nation who would return them for verification.¹⁰⁹ This may have been a well-organised system, one that satisfied the needs of most of the profession and the organisers of the games, but for women who were 'outsiders' in the industry they were unlikely to get a recommendation. The 1960 report only shows two women out of 61 British journalists - Pat Besford of the *Daily Sketch* and Judy Rowley of the *Daily Express* - a notably less proportionate figure than in 1932.¹¹⁰ Of the journalists uncovered in surveys, only Harris and Crawford were accredited journalists at the Olympic Games. As they were both ex-sports women, the data suggests even when accreditation was given it was limited to those who had proved their capabilities in a physical capacity. Table 6 illustrates how women were

¹⁰⁷ (1936). *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 - Official Report - Volume II*. p. 306.

¹⁰⁸ (1924). *Comite Olympique Francis - Les Jeux de la VIII Olympiade Paris 1924*. p. 249.

And (1936). *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 - Official Report - Volume II*. p. 306.

¹⁰⁹ (1976). *Games of the XXI Olympiad Montreal 1976, Official Report. Volume 1*. p. 386.

sponsored for the 1996 Olympics. It shows they were most heavily employed in 'Specialist magazines' at 40% and only 33% of newspapers, which meant even at the close of the century, their accreditation was not generally through newspapers.¹¹¹ In addition, Table 7 demonstrates women at this time were making up 12% of the total of accredited journalists at the Olympics.

Table 6: How Women Journalists were Employed for the 1996 Olympics Games

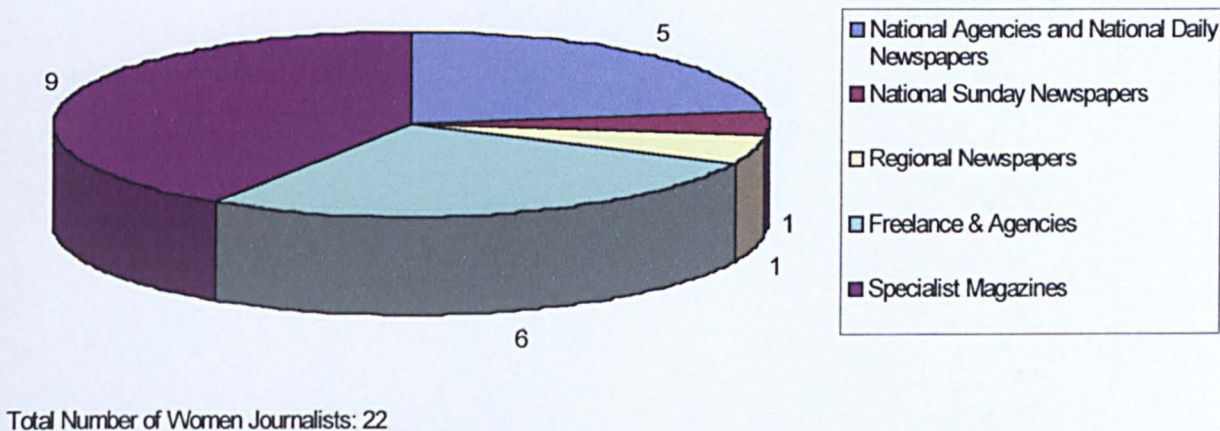
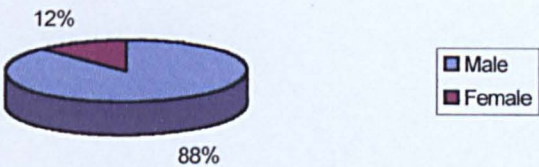


Table 7: Gender of British Journalists at the 1996 Olympic Games



The women faced with overcoming accreditation issues were not the only ones with this concern. As the Olympics was the big event for sports writers, for news correspondents the

¹¹⁰ Besford is now deceased and contact with Rowley was not successful.

¹¹¹ The data in Tables 6 and 7 are taken from the information provided in the document - (1996). Internal Document: Olympic Games Atlanta 1996: National Agencies and National Daily Newspapers – By Name and Accreditation Type.

The newspaper figure includes National agencies, National Daily, National Sunday's and Regional Newspapers - these figure could not be further broken down because they were prepared by the BOA records.

big story was war. Women writers also saw the outbreak of war as a natural progression from the other news stories they were covering, but they were also confronted with the same type of accreditation concerns, as those who sought to attend the Olympics.

In order to see how difficult the fight for accreditation was for women it is important to look back to the first American woman journalist to receive official accreditation, which was Peggy Hull Deuell in 1918. Despite already being at the front line she was confronted by her male colleagues who accused her of reporting without the necessary credentials. This began her chase to get the correct documentation so she could continue with her job. It was not mere coincidence that this matter was raised when her editors were holding her up as an example to her colleagues, because she was sending back 'more interesting copy'.¹¹² One British correspondent Evelyn Irons, found her own country's accreditation demands so resistant towards women, that she went instead to the Free French Army to report from there, because British Field Marshall Montgomery refused to accept her presence with his men.¹¹³ Even when women were given legitimate accreditation they would still be continually challenged on the 'appropriateness' of being on the front line. Iris Carpenter was given full accreditation by the American army as a war correspondent but officials constantly tried to take her accreditation away from her. The women who did manage to get accreditation, found difficulty in convincing the army and male colleagues of their authenticity.

Women writers also faced sexism when making contacts. The contacts a writer makes are the most important assets in carrying out the job. Price-Fisher argues it was the most essential part of the job to build relationships among the officials and players. When women were obstructed from the places where they could meet and make new contacts, a vital supply line of sources was denied. Mary Fitzhenry of the SWA notes that the establishment of networks was one of the main reasons why women struggled in the profession. She believed that the 'old boy's association provided contacts, information and in many cases

¹¹² Voss, F. (1994). *Reporting the War: The Journalistic Coverage of World War II*. Smithsonian Institution Press for the National Portrait Gallery, Washington DC. p. 85.

¹¹³ Knightley, P.(1975). *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist and Myth Maker from the Crimea to Vietnam*. London: Andre-Deutsch. p. 316.

facilities to make working life easier' for her male colleagues.¹¹⁴ Male sports writer Henry Longhurst confirmed the existence of such benefits in his autobiography *Only on Sundays*. He said that his appointment at the *Sunday Times* came about when one male peer mentioned to the male editor that he had 'taken to writing about golf'.¹¹⁵ He noted

James Braid happened to mention to Sir Herbert Morgan that a young fellow who used to play for Cambridge had taken to writing about golf. As a result I was summoned to the office of the *Sunday Times* and lived happily ever after.¹¹⁶

The ease of access to employment via a system of male networking was not open to women, as they did not hold the positions of power which controlled employment.

This system of communication, Self has argued, cannot be open to women in the same manner. She states

Most of the stories come from whispers in corridors, the lads get the big stories when they go night-clubbing with the players. If I go up to a player and suggest going out for a drink it could be misinterpreted.¹¹⁷

The gendered nature of the profession and the construction of their role was never fully separated from their working life. It would not allow them to be a member of the 'male' network as Self explains, because her attempt at making contacts would be construed as sexualised and as a result she was prevented from accessing a potential source of information.

The inherent 'masculine' nature of the profession affected women and their contacts in many different ways. Heyhoe-Flint explained the difficulties she had in gaining interviews and confirmation of stories because 'many of the men' she phoned 'refused to believe' that she 'knew anything about sport'.¹¹⁸ Kahn also details incidents where the mere assumption that she was a woman meant she was not considered a working writer on the golf course, because that was thought of as a 'man's job'. As a result the people she came into contact with often assumed she was there in some other 'woman's role'. For Kahn this led to several instances of being mistaken as undertaking the more passive and servile role of 'scorer'.

¹¹⁴ Fitzhenry, M. (1990). Stop Press. p. 35.

¹¹⁵ Longhurst, H. (1989). *Only on Sundays*. London: Sports pages, Simon & Schuster. p. 6.

¹¹⁶ Longhurst, H. (1989). *Only on Sundays*. p. 6.

¹¹⁷ Coddington, A. (1996). Popping Up. p.14.

¹¹⁸ Heyhoe-Flint, R. (1978). *Heyhoe!* p. 148

She recalls for the most part she was either invisible to the officials on the course or they were trying to remove her, but in one instance an official shouted out to her 'Scorer. What did the player do at the last hole?' To which she replied 'it was a birdie and no I'm not'. She notes it was the immediate assumption that she was only capable of doing a 'woman's' job which made her most angry.

This is not a situation that has ever been fully resolved. Joint a writer on male professional football in the 1990s noted how she was often 'cold-shouldered' by managers. In one instance she explained how two of them said to her 'what do you know? You're a woman'. Despite the fact that she was well regarded by the readers of her paper, the *Western Morning News*, who told her they felt that the coverage went 'downhill' when she left, her authority was doubted by the men in the game, the people she relied upon for stories. She dealt with the situation by having a 'thick skin' and knowing she would eventually win their respect, as she had done her readers.

However, there were instances where women found the assumptions of their gender could be a benefit to them. Self argues women stood out in a crowd of journalists, a fact Pet Turrell, deputy sports editor of the *Sports Argus* agreed with because she explained there are times where 'being a women can often be an advantage as people tend to remember you as you are in the minority'.¹¹⁹ Ashton, sports reporter for the *Rugby Advertiser* also believed that 'being female in a man's world is quite often an advantage'. Trish Adudu, a Channel Five sports presenter also suggests that a 'determination not to be one of the guys' could help women. Her view was that they should value their own 'feminine' perspective and not simply adopt a conventional 'masculine' one, another way of standing out.

So there were some practical benefits where women felt they could gain from their sex differences. There were several examples where women felt their gender was advantageous because they were less threatening in areas of such inherent 'masculinity'. Juliette Wills, a 1990s reporter for football magazines argued that 'players tend to be more approachable if

¹¹⁹ Bennett, V. (1996). *Women, Football and the Media*.

you're a woman'.¹²⁰ Self also believed in this possibility. She felt some men found it hard to be rude to a woman and she used this to push for an interview. She explained there were occasions when managers or players had not wanted to speak to the media and have told them to get lost, but she finds they do not do the same to her.¹²¹

The combination of being the only woman, and 'feminine' assumptions have assisted Joint getting stories. She recalls an incident during her time as the local reporter for Torquay United FC. On this occasion the manager Don O'Riordon had not spoken to her for two months because of a critical report she had written on the team's performance at the start of the season. However, by mid-October the team were bottom of the league and struggling badly. Following an 8-1 home defeat the manager did not come out of the dressing room to speak to the press. Instead he sent one of his staff to find her. She was taken to the dressing room after all the players had gone and the manager 'opened his heart about everything' on his feelings of being let down by the chairman and his players. She was given an exclusive interview, which she found 'extraordinary' and believes the reason was that she 'didn't think he could open his heart like that to a fellow male'. Although it may have had as much to do with the fact that he believed she understood his dilemma because of the tone of her earlier critical article. In any event he was still more comfortable in revealing himself to a woman because of the 'masculine' assumption of strength and power he may have felt he was betraying in speaking about this predicament to another man. Being a woman writing a biography on a male sports star can have similar advantages to those experienced by Joint. Kahn notes in her biography of golfer Tony Jacklin that he had been 'incredibly honest about himself'.¹²² St John echoes similar sentiments in her biography of golfer Greg Norman. Norman and his wife 'were much kinder and nicer than they actually needed to be'.¹²³ She gave a sense that they welcomed her intrusion into their private world because as a woman the threat was not so great an invasion.

¹²⁰ Bennett, V. (1996). *Women, Football and the Media*.

¹²¹ Coddington, A. (1997). *One of the Lads*. p. 179.

¹²² Kahn, L. (1979). *Tony Jacklin: The Price of Success*. London: Hamlyn. p. 7.

¹²³ St John, L. (1998). *Greg Norman: The Biography*. London: Corgi Books. p.Foreword.

Manipulating gender restrictions to their benefit was also an option used by the women war correspondents. After Martha Gellhorn was banned from the front line and forced to travel with the nurses, she says she 'climbed a fence and hitchhiked to the nearest military airfield. On the pretext of wanting to see her fiancé in Italy, she got a lift to Naples'.¹²⁴ She used the type of 'feminine' role the soldiers would expected of her to find a way of overcoming the hurdles other officers had created for her. Similarly another woman correspondent, Higgins, left rumours in her wake of stories of a 'lissome blonde nuzzling up to pilots to hitch rides'; one account describes her as having '*always* [sic] got to go where she wanted to go'.¹²⁵ By using the assumptions of her gender to her advantage she was ironically able to exploit them and get the contacts and information needed. Gellhorn and Higgins were demonstrating that this was their job and they were going to carry it out no matter what. Any feelings by the army or wider society, that women's place was not on the front line or reporting on it was not a consideration for a journalist just doing her job. Whether as sports writers or war correspondents there was evidence that they found ways to manipulate the assumptions of their gender in order to get the contact they needed and were often denied to them by traditional means.

But the hardships and difficulties women had to overcome meant they required great support to find ways of dealing with matters of sex discrimination at work. This was a role generally undertaken by the establishment of unions and other associative organisations. Although in the early part of the century the SWJ concentrated on how it could help women in what was a difficult profession for them. Its main aims were to provide a support network so that they did not feel isolated. Ironically when debating the issues in an article entitled 'Trade Unionism and the Woman Journalist' the very reason why they needed their own union was also the reason it was struggling to survive. The fact that many women could only enter the profession on a freelance basis meant that they did not have the security or power of the staff journalists. In fact this was also the cause of financial trouble in the SWJ, with most of

¹²⁴ Wagnor, L. (1989). *Women War Correspondents*.

¹²⁵ Prochnau, W. (1996). *Once Upon a Distant War*. p. 337.

the members not having secure enough incomes to ensure its survival.¹²⁶ There was clearly a feeling in later editions of *The Woman Journalist* that while the society may hold the concept of 'unionism' as an ideal, it was not a practical goal. It was also felt a union for women journalists 'would be too small to be effectual'.¹²⁷ These circumstances meant women did not have the security that a union would provide.

Yet, as a society they were still effective in their goal of offering some type of support network. Evidence from the archives shows the SWJ were successful in developing a system where younger women could benefit from the knowledge of established women. But it also lost members because it did not have the ability to operate as an employment agency and help women find work.¹²⁸ But what it could do was aid its members offering legal and medical assistance. The 23rd Annual Report claims that the SWJ had made progress as it had

lately been instrumental in securing for women journalists official recognition and sanction from the War Office with the result that four women journalists, one of whom was Miss Billington herself, representing between them the whole of the English daily press have spent a fortnight in France for the purpose of describing for their papers the work done by women at the bases.¹²⁹

As discussed above accreditation for war correspondents was essential in undertaking war reporting, so this was a real triumph for them in this instance.

While they did have access to their own society in the first part of the century, the SWJ had struggled as an organisation and the more contemporary women only had the benefits of the larger unions, NUJ and IOJ or those which are subject, but not gender specific. From the information available there has never been any signs of women establishing their own union as women in America did with the establishment of the AWSM. However, this is not a surprising factor considering only a handful were staff, with most building freelance careers. As a result they have been separated and divided in a sense of their specific professional needs and left to the wider concerns of other unions.

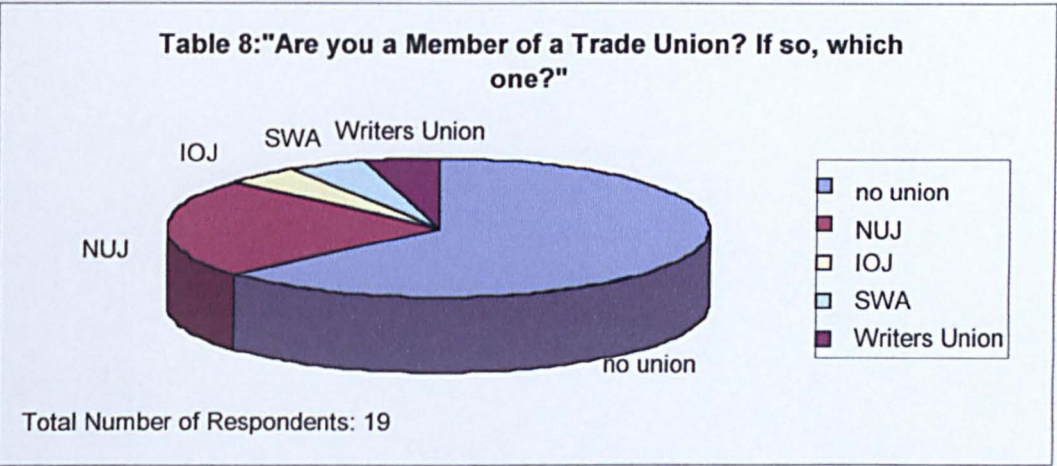
¹²⁶ (1915). *The Woman Journalist*. 28. July. p. 3.

¹²⁷ (1915). *The Woman Journalist*. 29. September. p. 2.

¹²⁸ (1897). *The Fourth Annual Report of the Council - To the Members of the Society of Women Journalists*. pp. 4/5.

¹²⁹ (1916/17). *The 23rd Annual Report of the Society of Women Journalists*.

When those surveyed were asked about their involvement with trade unions their resistance towards the official organisations was more significant than it first appeared. As Table 8 shows there were 8 women in unions, but some of the respondents were members of more than one, so the hesitation to become members by the majority was stronger than the numbers suggest. The reasons for this varied. Self noted she had been a member of several unions, but left because help 'was not forthcoming' when her newspaper offices were closed down and she complained 'we were left to negotiate our own derisory severance'. The belief that unions could not or would not help them was the primary reason many were not members.



Yet others who were members of unions presented evidence that they were supported in their needs. Information from the AGW archives (see Appendix 2.1 for full transcript of the incident) provided details of a case regarding one woman to whom they did give their full support. Betty Debenham, a golf correspondent for the *Irish Times* and an AGW committee member at the time, attended a tournament, as usual, only to find herself replaced by a recently retired Lt Col from the Regular Army. The AGW defended her in her complaint and demanded action from both the newspaper and the NUJ. In this manner the AGW upheld the desire of the unions to protect the profession from unqualified 'outsiders'. The assistance of the union proved victorious for Debenham and the newspaper confirmed the situation would not happen again.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ Minutes of 'A Committee meeting held at Notts Golf Club, Hollinwell, on October 1958.

However, the assistance of the AGW was placed into question by Kahn's claim that they did not help her with her battle for equal access to all areas of golf clubs in January 1991. According to the Minutes of the AGW meeting with the PGA European Tour Kahn raised this issue with them. (Appendix 2.2 shows a complete extract of the reference to this situation). The minutes show they were ignorant of Kahn's problem, but concerned enough to discuss ways to prevent other women from having the same experiences. They did not however implement any rule changes to immediately help the situation.¹³¹ Their conclusion was that the locker room was for 'gentlemen' and journalists as 'honorary members' must 'abide by club rules', rules which did not allow the entry of women. While they realised that Kahn had the same rights as the rest of the members of the AGW, they still felt that 'the Tour could not help her or pass special rules for her'. Their solution to 'quickly to avoid it becoming a long drawn out saga' was to offer other methods of support and agree a policy of rules in case other women were in a 'similar mind'. They decided women writers could be helped by allowing them to use the player's lounge, by invitation, as was already available to any journalist and the clubhouse or press centre to conduct her interviews. As for the male locker room, it would remain 'out of bounds' and if she encountered difficulty there were officials she could contact to assist her in tracking down a player. Such suggestions appeared reasonable and practical, but the reality of the situation was that women were still at a disadvantage to their male colleagues. Based on the differing situations of Debenham and Kahn, the AGW were obliging when the dispute was with a newspaper, but where it entailed taking on the whole golfing world they were less effective.

As the NUJ evolved as the main union for journalists there is evidence of their support for women on issues of equality. In addition to the fight for equal pay for women in 1917 as detailed in Appendix 3.1, the support for equality continued at the 1972 NUJ Conference. (Appendix 3.2). At this meeting the goal was to establish equality for women in other areas of her working life beyond the negotiation of equal pay. It intended to rectify the restrictions in training schemes that had impeded their ability to fully enter the profession, make further

¹³¹ Letter from Marc Garrod, Hon. Secretary. June 23 1999.

moves towards equal pay measures, establish the 'inclusion of maternity leave and benefits' and remove any existing 'anomalies' affecting work, such as pension schemes and retirement age.¹³² This was another demonstration of the NUJ's ambition to get women journalists 'fair treatment' in 'practice as well as theory'.¹³³ Though widespread this does show evidence of the NUJ support for issues that were unique to its women members. Although the assistance from the unions was mixed, while they were largely established for the concerns of all journalists, and did not always possess the scope to address the specific needs of women, the reaction from the women surveyed shows the view towards them as instruments of a male profession was difficult to break down.

Women sports writers were women in a man's world. The issues of sex discrimination, sexual harassment, access and doubts about accreditation are a reality in their lives because of their sex. The ideologies which have restricted their entrance to the industry, have also resulted in hindering them in undertaking the daily requirements of the job. Although all women writers face similar types of obstacles based on the gendered nature of the profession and its assumptions of their capabilities, women sports writers are further relegated in the profession, than those women who faced similar obstacles in male specialisms. While those in both war and sport found their positions disputed, the war correspondents earned the respect of their colleagues and access quicker than the sports writer and overcame their obstacles sooner. Where the similarities in the competitive 'masculine' nature of sport and war have many factors in common, one key difference is that in war there is a common enemy and this places men and women on the same side. The powerful spirit of communities at war can unite colleagues to work together, while there was no unifying element in sport. Women rarely compete with men in team sports. In sports writing they would continually share the relegation of sports women and confront discrimination on a regular basis. However this did not mean they accepted discrimination. They did fight against it and even found way around the 'limitations' that being a woman could bring. Self states the power women hold is to 'get around them [the obstacles] as best

¹³² ADM Equality. (1984). *Equality: National Union of Journalists*. London: National Union of Journalists.

¹³³ ADM Equality. (1984). *Equality: National Union of Journalists*.

you can'.¹³⁴ This was one way women could confront being a 'outsider' and find success in the profession, despite the harsh realities they often faced.

¹³⁴ Coddington, A. (1997). *One of the Lads - Women who Follow Football*. p. 179.

CHAPTER FOUR:

WHO WERE 'THE WOMEN'S SPORTS CORRESPONDENTS'?¹

"Sports Journalism' has opened a new field of employment for women which to those properly equipped is not only an enjoyable but a profitable profession."²

There is evidence that women were working as sports journalists throughout the Twentieth Century. However asking 'who were they' is not an easy question to answer. The clues to a greater understanding of the women who became sports writers can be gauged by analysing the factors they had in common in their personal lives, particularly their early formative years. The other area of importance is the factors which were determined essential to 'properly equip' women to be sports writers. This can be done through an examination of their biographies and questionnaire responses which provides a means for comparing the standards of their education and training, their relationship to sport and the socialisation of sporting pursuits within the family. The collation of this data identifies the significant traits and themes in their development as a collective group.

The data analysed shows that sport was a defining part of their childhood backgrounds and family lives. Heyhoe-Flint was described in an interview for the 'Woman's Guardian' in 1973, as a unique instance of the girl who the boys allowed to participate in their sporting pastimes.

She was a bit of a tom boy. The lads included her in their own teams, football, cricket, whatever, as well as swinging across the river on branches, and cycling with the skid-kid team.³

She explains this was largely down to the fact that she was the only girl in the family with two brothers. She credits her sporting relationship with her brothers as part of the reason why she loved to play cricket. When asked by an interviewer if she 'wished she was a boy?' she replied

¹ This was the by-line given to Pollard by the Guardian and was often one of the problems in finding women when only a title such as this was given.

Also note all information in this chapter is from the questionnaire responses of the women surveyed unless referenced otherwise.

² M.E.S. (1913). Women as Sports Journalists. *The Woman Journalist*. 18. November. p. 3.

³ Hamilton, A. (1973). A Bit of the Old Heave Ho. *Guardian*. 22 June. p. 11.

I think so. Because I asked for cricket bats as presents and woke my brothers at 3 am on my birthday to play. I was the only girl and wanted to impress myself on the human race.⁴

She wanted to be different and take part in activities which were defined as 'masculine'. The portrait of her childhood was that of an exceptional girl who challenged the existing make-up of social relationships. It was these same personal characteristics which drove her in her achievements as an international cricketer and hockey player, and later as a sports writer.

Welch and Wethered also talk about similar traits in their autobiographies. Welch saw herself as having 'the boldness of a boy' and allotted her playing time as a child accordingly.

I found the girls too faint-hearted to mix with exclusively and allotted half my leisure time to the boys. With them I enjoyed pretending to shoot people, pretending to blow up people, cricket, roaming, moving cars along the carpet and riding bikes which we crashed into trees a lot...Among the boys I could be strong, rowdy and competitive and I liked being with them very much.⁵

These references by Welch are of descriptions traditionally associated with male children, yet by aligning them to herself she is challenging the gendered image of childhood behaviour.

Wethered was another 'sports girl' who grew up close to her brother playing golf and later they wrote an instructional golf text together. She notes as they were of a similar age, their time together would usually find them 'playing sport with one another, football, cricket and so on'.⁶ Like Heyhoe-Flint, she was also a great player in later life, winning the women's Open Championship in 1922, 1924, 1925, 1929 and The English Championship in 1920 - 1924. In both cases the acceptance of their participation in 'male' sports allowed them to develop their own sporting prowess. It was this acceptance and hence the role of sport as a normal part of their lives which provided them with the foundation to make sport part of their working lives as athletes, supporters and later writers.

The socialisation into sport by the family is the key to understanding what made women successful sports writers. Welch's indoctrination into sport was not by brothers, as one of two girls, instead it came from her father. In her autobiography she says she became a football reporter because in many ways she was 'looking' for her the father, the man she used to

⁴ Hamilton, A. (1973). *A Bit of the Old Heave Ho*. p. 11.

⁵ Welch, J. (1999). *Long Distance Information*. pp. 147 - 148.

watch *Grandstand* with as a child.⁷ Her father worked for a company which traded in 'light plant: blocks and tackle, pit props and jacks' and was away from home a lot travelling with the job. She states it was his travelling life and the people he met she saw reflected in her own travels on the job.

I recreated my father in my imagination, taking myself off to the football towns and cities in whose pub and working men's clubs this navy-suited, maroon-tied, apple-cheeked God had smoked Players Navy Cut. Eaten pickled onions and told risqué jokes with beefy men from the Coal Board and colliery workers. Dad liked these people very much, even though they were quite unlike the sort of person he appeared to us at home; then again, I always liked footballers and managers very much. When I was four I sat on the carpet with him, helping him to pack Christmas boxes for these men whose value ranged from a gift pack of fifty cigarettes to a rough wooden crate of Scotch. Even now I can be made happy and nostalgic by the smell of tobacco and wood shavings.⁸

The socialisation by her father made her recognise parts of the environment of her work as familiar and it was this sense of recognition which gave her pleasure. It is ironic that it was the masculine nature of the profession which brought her such happiness, as it was this factor which was also the reason for her rejection and much unpleasantness. Her feeling for the job is reminiscent of that of male sports writer Brian Glanville. In his autobiography he notes how he 'fell in love with Arsenal' as a child when he began going with his father, and it is this experience which is at the foundation of his later career.⁹ The introduction of sports to the child is often undertaken by the father, with both Welch & Granville coming to sports this way. Gender was not a factor in the process of her socialisation as it had been removed by the dominant male in her life. Therefore like Heyhoe-Flint and Wethered, as a child, sport was an acceptable and happy part of her life and with the gender distinctions removed, at a formative time, she had the confidence to challenge when gender became an obstacle later in her career.

Like Welch, L Thompson was another writer whose social background was a large factor in her choice of profession. She notes in her book *The Dogs* (1994) that she was the daughter of a dog owner and this was where her inspiration and love of the sport came from. The book is dedicated to her father, as the person who opened up the world of this sport to her. This

⁶ Mair, L. (1980). *The Dunlop Lady Golfer's Companion*. p. x.

⁷ Welch, J. *Long Distance Information*. pp. 39, 35.

⁸ Welch, J. *Ibid.* p. 35.

⁹ Glanville, B. (1999). *Football Memories*. London: Virgin. p.13.

sense of family in her association with the sport is also evident by the back cover, which includes a picture of a winning dog surrounded by flowers, a cup and a group of smiling people who are all presented as a happy family unit.¹⁰ This picture is symbolic of the personal nature and experience she brings to her writing. It also illustrates a blending of the private and public spheres in the world of sport in her early socialisation which removes the complexities of gender distinction. The way the construction of sport was demonstrated to her as a 'family' activity allowed her to find her own space and pleasure. On this basis all these women enjoyed sport as a childhood activity which gave them sporting knowledge which empowered them as adults.

The role of a father in a daughter's socialisation is also highly significant because it can often pave the way for women to enter the 'masculine' world of sport, particularly for those who were sportswomen before they became writers. The role is a crucial factor in their introduction to sports by establishing familiarity with the language. It is through this relationship that girls can learn the skills necessary despite the codes of conduct regarding 'feminine' behaviour. Both Leitch and Price-Fisher had fathers who were important figures in their local golf clubs and who used their status to pass on their own love of golf to their daughters. Price-Fisher's father was a successful business man in London who owned a property which allowed the family access onto the 17th hole at the Farnham Golf Course. He encouraged her to play from an early age and as a major share holder at the club he also had the authority to have a special piece of grass cut for her near the 18th tee as a practice ground for her.¹¹ Golf was presented to her as an acceptable activity to learn and excel at. It was this kind of help and motivation which assisted her in becoming British Champion in 1959. Leitch benefited from a similar type of encouragement from her father, a doctor and dedicated player. She calls her father the 'pioneer of golf at Silloth' because he was responsible for laying out a nine hole course 'on common land and playing there with his sister in the first game of golf ever played on the shores of the Solway Firth'.¹² Leitch notes that the locals thought they were 'lunatics' and jokes that this was the reason why she was

¹⁰ Thompson, L. (1994). *The Dogs*.

¹¹ Mair, L. (1980). *The Dunlop Lady Golfer's Companion*. p. 6.

¹² Leitch, C. (1922). *Golf*. London: Thornton Butterworth. p. 13.

not only a golfer, but 'became 'mad' on the game'.¹³ She began playing around the age of nine, with her elder sister May. Leitch made her debut at 17 and continued playing well into her 60's.¹⁴ Her success in winning both the British and English Championships several times (See Appendix 9) was evidence of how her father's love of golf had a positive effect on her own ability. In both circumstances their fathers gave them not only the physical access to learn and play the sport, but also encouragement of their right to participate.

While the males in the family unit had a vital role in their entry into the associated 'masculine' world of sport, the function of the mother is also significant. Both Leitch and Wethered dedicated their books to their mothers who had supported them. Leitch states

To MY MOTHER [sic] whose loving sympathy, constant encouragement and unfailing interest have been my greatest incentive and help throughout my golfing career, I dedicate MY BOOK [sic]¹⁵

Wethered and her brother Roger also, dedicated their jointly written book on golf instruction to their mother.

To our mother - In recollection of numerous games and much affectionate encouragement we dedicate these pages.¹⁶

The mother here has an important role in reinforcing the acceptance of sport for women. As the father offered access, the mother granted confirmation of their femininity. As sport is a traditionally 'masculine' area dominated by males, the support of the mother here as a role model of what is 'feminine' to a female child allows her to see there can be a place for the female and hence 'feminine' in sport. As a whole unit the family provided a crucial education in presenting women sports writers with a place in the public sphere of sport. Those who would later become successful had received this schooling and groundwork which provided them with a way to dispute the limitations they would face in their adult lives.

For example, St John came from a family where sport was part of their social lives and from an early age she was introduced to all sports typical to her community. She writes

¹³ Leitch, C. *Golf*. p. 13.

¹⁴ Wilson, E. (1961). *A Gallery of Women Golfers*. London: Country Life. p. 59.

¹⁵ Leitch, C. (1922). *Ibid.* p. 5.

At home, we did all the things that normal farming families in our area did. We rode horses, we fished, held brasis (barbecues), swam, dipped cows, inspected tobacco barns and hunted with a spotlight in the dead of night.¹⁷

Although her participation in these physical activities had a role to play in her approach to sports as a adult, these 'normal' experiences did not include golf, the sport she built her career on. This, she states, was not one of the family pastimes; instead her introduction and socialisation came in three other ways. The first was her discovery of a golf tournament on TV, which she watched despite having no idea what it was. Her second experience was at school when she found she could get more time out of school by taking an art class where she painted next to a golf course. Her third experience of golf was through friends in journalism college; by going to watch them play she found her own interest in the sport. This intrigue led to her teaching herself to play in her back garden from books. She notes the first two encounters did not set her off onto a golf course because she believed it was a game 'which was enjoyed by old men' and 'no one I had ever come across played golf, not within our family or outside it.'¹⁸

She believes her socialisation into the sport has influenced her approach to writing about the game. She states

Henry Longhurst used to say that the way in which we are introduced to golf influences our attitude to the game for the rest of our lives. I agree. If I had grown-up in a golfing family and had taken the playing of it for granted, I don't think I would have become as obsessed with it as I am.¹⁹

The way she came to her sport was different from the cases detailed above, where the family had assisted them in taking part. In St John's case her introduction and education into the sport was on her own initiative, but her association with sport as a child was still significant as her family's interest had already brought her an awareness of her ability to be a direct participator in sport. Although she felt it was a game for 'old men' she had been given the confidence in other sporting activities to test her capabilities and teach herself, regardless of the gender divide. As the others demonstrated, where they had been provided in early

¹⁶ Wethered, R and Wethered, J. (1922). *Golf from Two Sides*. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

¹⁷ St John, L. (1991). *Shooting at Clouds*. p. 9.

¹⁸ St John, L. (1991). *Ibid*. p. 9.

childhood with understanding of acceptability in sporting pursuits, they used this experience as a foundation for their personal desires and career goals later in life. The family unit was a vital place where they would learn that sport could play a part in their lives.

In general, most of those surveyed were well educated; some had a university degree and others had undergone training of a similar level, specifically for the purposes of entering journalism. For example Mott and L. Thompson have English degrees, Taylor a law degree, Crawford a Business degree and Crowther has a German and Politics degree and E.

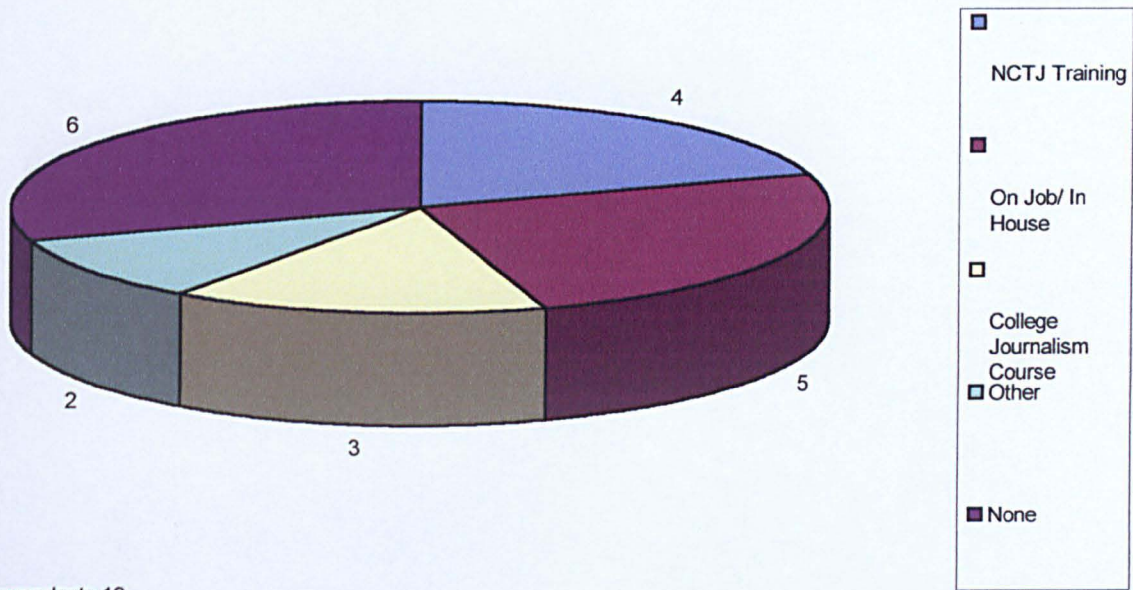
Thompson was educated at Kings College London²⁰ It is interesting that Glanville notes in his critical review of sports writing "Still Looking for an Idiom" his main criticism is the lack of educated men in Fleet Street and compares it to the situation in Italy and Latin American Countries, where 'most sports journalists have university degrees'.²¹ This was one criticism which could not be levelled from those women surveyed. Of the women who did not opt for education at University level, there were a variety of reasons why they did not choose this traditional entry. For some, their qualification as sportswomen was still the primary means of access and for others specialist training methods with the specific purpose of entry into the profession were undertaken. Table 9 below, illustrates the varied degrees of training of the women examined. There was not one single way of training in preparation for a career in sports writing. The same number of women (20 per cent) had undertaken no training for the job, as those who had gone through the college/university courses. The specialist journalism training ranged from St John with a journalism diploma, Heyhoe-Flint, Ashton, Kelly and Burgess who were all NCTJ trained, to Self and Davies who undertook a pre-entry journalism course at the London College of Printing. In comparison some of the ex-sports women, Harris, Price-Fisher, Lonsborough and Helme had no initial journalism training of any kind and instead only relied on their personal sports related knowledge. Some of the contemporary respondents did manage to enter the internal training schemes of their newspapers, although this was for general journalism training rather than special instruction in sports writing. Taylor, Mott, and Self all combined an internal training scheme with their

¹⁹ St John, L. (1991). *Shooting at Clouds*. p. 11.

²⁰ The initial of the writer is used here as there are two Thompsons - Edith who the editor of *Hockey Field* in the first part of the century and Laura Thompson, a contemporary sports writers who was part of the questionnaire survey. And (1933). *The Women's Who's Who*. London: Shaw. p. 33.

other various forms of education, and Joint was trained internally after finding employment on her local paper through freelancing while at school. All undertook some type of training or education to prepare them for the profession.

Table 9: "What Training did you Undertake to become a Journalist?"



Total Respondents 19.
One respondent was NCTJ Trained as well as 'On the Job'

There was clearly a wide diversity in the type of training and education that had prepared these women for a career in journalism. Yet when it came to preparations for writing in the specialist area of sports, this was the one factor which all the respondents agreed on. None of the respondents were given any designated training for sports writing. Again those who were ex-sportswomen could draw on their own experiences to prepare them for writing on the subject. As a player, it was merely suggested to Helme by another woman sports writer.

It was at Miss Stringer's suggestion that I set after the little white ball, armed with notebook and pencil. It was during dinner time in the Guilford Hotel, at Sandwich on the eve of a Surrey v Kent match, that Miss Stringer said to me, "Why don't you try writing on golf? You have written about hockey". It was a bright thought, an exciting one. Why shouldn't I? Pencil and paper had been boon companions of my childhood. They had been temporarily overshadowed by club and ball, but they were to come out again in reinforced array after that Sandwich match.²²

²¹ Glanville, B. (1995). Still Looking for an Idiom. *Prospect*. October, Vol.1, p. 45.

²² Helme, E.E. (1931). *After the Ball*. p. 246.

Helme's also wrote that having got her started as a journalist, Stringer then went on to arrange new fixtures for her to write about. This illustrates Stringer was not only instrumental in Helme's career, but also in moving forward the game of golf for women in general. Leitch notes Stringer also helped other women develop themselves and was called 'Auntie Mabel' because of the kind acts she performed for women in golf as writers and players who became her 'nieces'.²³ Helme wrote she felt all of the journalist's notebooks she filled in her twenty years of writing 'ought to be dedicated to Miss Stringer'.²⁴ It is significant that the early successes were inspired by a few women, but all who did not have any official forms of training, but formed their own support system and used their athletic success to provide them with proof of sporting knowledge. All of the respondents found different ways of proving their abilities and finding employment whether as a fully trained journalist or ex-sports women, but none had received apprenticeship training which was the normal procedure of training recommended by the NCTJ for specialist subject areas.

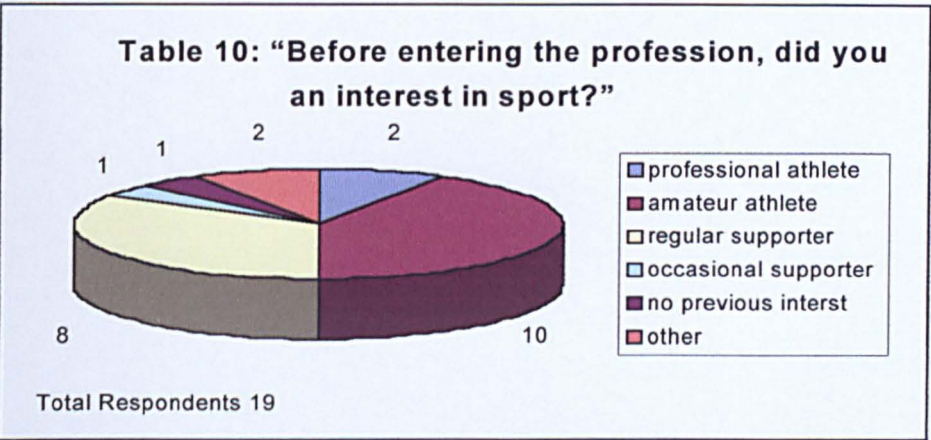
Table 10 shows one of the major responses to this question from those who were athletes, with 12 listing some form of athletic background as their previous sporting interest. This was the major opportunity for women to enter the profession in the first half of the century and continued to be a valuable method for the second period. Two women stated their background was 'professional athlete', while 10 describes themselves as 'amateur athletes'.²⁵ However, even those who did not claim to be 'athletes' still wrote additional comments on their leisure time sporting activities, something most of them participated in as hobbies in their spare time.²⁶ Athletic status was still a part of the more recent writers' accomplishment, but not as dominant as those earlier, like Stringer, Helme, Brasher, Besford, Heyhoe-Flint, Wilson, and Price-Fisher. One anonymous contemporary respondent noted that she 'played women's rugby for six years' and then wrote for special journals and papers on the sport. Crowther, Kelly and St John all call themselves 'amateur athletes',

²³ Leitch, C. (1922). *Golf*. p. 147.

²⁴ Helme, E.E. (1931). *After the Ball*. p. 246.

²⁵ This distinction was not higher for professional athletes, despite some of the women reaching international status because women's sports for most of the century have been classified as 'amateur'.

meaning recreational athletes and stated their sporting hobbies were an active part of their writing careers. Crowther was a cyclist who wrote for specialist journals. While Kelly used her interest in Badminton to make the transition from her 'day' job as features editor to writing a page on such events for her newspaper. St John followed the same route from her interest in golf to becoming a successful golf writer. From these examples it shows that the women studied here did not need to have a high proficiency at the sports they played in order to be successful, but any degree of sporting experience was an added bonus to enrich their writing.



For most of the women surveyed their passion for sport meant they were also avid sports supporters, with nine answering that they were 'regular' or 'occasional' supporters (See Table 8 p.151).²⁷ Those who did not have the physical qualification of an actual sporting background, could instead use their knowledge gained from being as supporters instead. While some came from a sporting background where they had been active participants, others only had their identity as supporters as the basis of their knowledge. Self asserted that being a supporter not only allowed her to have a job, but provided her with the necessary knowledge. She states that it is 'difficult to quantify' the time she spends outside of work as a supporter because they are so closely related. 'I tend to watch a lot of football on television but that is work and pleasure. The lines are somewhat blurred'. This blurring of what is work and what is fun showed how their love of sport provided them with a means into the

²⁶ Only one women, Ingram, stated she had no previous interest in sport and was only undertaking a job as directed.
²⁷ Some respondents listed themselves in more than one area.

profession. While the love of sport was not generally associated to women, the way these women describe their feelings and relationship to sport mirrors that of their male colleagues. In his autobiography Glanville describes his passion for sport. He recalls sneaking off as a school boy to watch Arsenal and cycling to watch the third team train.²⁸ His fanatical support of Arsenal is shared by Sue Mott. The back cover insert of author information in *A Girl's Guide to Ball Games* states the fact in the opening line. 'Sue Mott is an Arsenal supporter. The other lesser, facts include a career in sports journalism'.²⁹ Her role as a fan is privileged as the most important element of her expertise. Both Glanville and Mott used this shared experience to enter the profession and did so in remarkably similar ways by writing football reports for school/university magazines. Their role as supporters led them both into extracurricular activities that helped them to develop the skills they would use later in their careers as sports journalists.

Being a supporter is also a major part of Welch's life. In both her autobiography and the semi-autobiographical play *Glory, Glory Days* she focuses on her own and the main character's love of 'Spurs' (Tottenham Hotspur Football Club). As a dedicated football fan the televised play shows how her and her two friends worshipped their chosen club. In *Long Distance Information* she details how she became a football supporter because of her friendship with three north London Jewish girls, with whom she was friends with at the age of 11-13. Local club Spurs had just won the Double (both League and cup in the same year) and they were captivated.

I spent a happy old time shutting ourselves in the end toilet in the basement cloakroom to listen to the Cup draw and carving DANNY on the inside of our desk lids.³⁰

The 'Danny' mentioned was Danny Blanchflower, the star player of the team, and illustrates their devotion to the club as supporters. It was from this introduction as a fan that she would later provide financially for herself and her son: 'I was divorced from my first husband and I knew I could use my knowledge to become a football reporter'.³¹ Her childhood displays of

²⁸ Glanville, B. (1999). *Football Memories*. p. 24.

²⁹ Mott, S. (1996). *A Girl's Guide*. p. back cover.

³⁰ Welch, J. (1999). *Long Distance Information*. p. 4.

³¹ Welch, J. (1999). *Ibid*. p. 5.

fandom was sufficient qualification for her to become a sports writer, in addition to her talent as a journalist.

Both Ashton and Joint began their careers in the late 1980s/early 1990s and also used their interest as supporters to make a way into the profession for themselves. As 'regular supporters' they both later wrote on the sports they followed. Ashton worked her way up through her paper to become sports editor and now covers the local rugby and football matches when her regular correspondents are away. Joint also started at the bottom with her local paper and became a well regarded football correspondent. Even Davies, who did not list herself as a supporter, but instead identified herself in the 'other' category, gives the explanation that she was 'just mad keen on sport in general' - a description which still shows the same passion as that of a supporter. Like Welch, whatever the level or recognition of support, it provided a way to make a living in a 'masculine' profession. This is a form of entrance to the profession which allows them to cross the gender divide in sport, as it was a way also used by their male colleagues. Glanville recalls one of his breaks in getting employment was on seeing an advert for a new sports paper and he sent in a report on an England football match he had seen a year earlier.³² Again his knowledge as a fan is what gave him the necessary information to apply for the job.

St John states her own training was her love of golf. 'I simply read a lot of sports books and magazines, and followed golf fanatically.' She further emphasises the dedication to doing such a demanding job and highlights 'a deep love for the sport you follow'. However for those who were not ex-sports women their suitability through a passion for sport alone was an even harder task. Mott attacks the contention that only men were passionate about sport in the introduction of *A Girls Guide to Ball Games: What Men Need to Know* (1996) by stating it is also 'biologically possible for women to love sport because of sport.'³³ Her use of the term 'biological' highlights how this belief is a manipulation of biological sex differences and that she is no different from the writers Barnes describes in *A Sports Writer's Year*

³² Glanville, B. (1999). *Football Memories*. London: Virgin. p. 38.

³³ Mott, S. (1996). *A Girl's Guide to Ball Games*. p. 9.

(1989). He notes the 'commonest species' in the press boxes 'are people who love sport above all things' and this is no different for sports writers who are women.³⁴

When asked what qualities they thought made a good sports writer, the extent to which they valued their own personal commitment and affection for sport became evident. Self responded

Enthusiasm, knowledge of sport, ability to communicate with sporting stars, patience to wait in rainy car parks for hours, honesty so that players trust you, ability to spot off-beat stories, a thick skin for when you have to write something negative, able to work quickly and calmly against tight deadlines.

Her personal dedication to the job can be seen in these comments, as the essential aspects of a good journalist. Kahn also places importance on the fact she 'loved sport' and Welch's character in her play *First Love* persuaded the sports editor to give her the job because she had 'been in love with football since I was so small I could walk under a turnstile, not through it. I'd still go to hell and back to watch my team win the Cup Final'.³⁵ Their passion for sport often went beyond the mere supporter level to being 'mad' about sport as Leitch describes. This is evident in the way Amy Lawrence, of *FourFourTwo* football magazine, was described by Coddington in *One of the Lads* as being an 'anorak'- someone who is obsessive about football detail. 'I'll take anybody on, I'll ask them things they wouldn't ever dream of' and her demand to be tested is symbolic of the need to prove her authority to those who might be doubtful of it.³⁶ It is clear these women were passionate about their subject and they used their love of the sport to prove the 'exceptional' qualities in their abilities.

A passion for their subject not only provided them with the sporting knowledge to give them authority, it also gave them the drive and determination to stay within a profession that was often hostile to them. Women have described situations where even though the pressure of the job has been tough they still found themselves enjoying their work as sports writers. On a practical level the daily grind of sports writing was also demanding, but despite these general strains they still found pleasure in their job. Helme recounts a story when she was tired and

³⁴ Barnes, S. (1989). *A Sportswriters Year*. p.151.

³⁵ Welch, J. (1984). *Those Glory Glory Days*. p. 52.

³⁶ Coddington, A. (1997). *One of the Lads*. p. 181.

believed she had finished her work for the day, only to find another paper had requested a story. She says:

I did not feel at that moment in entire agreement with the genial lady who said to me as I wrestled with the notebook amongst the debris of the tea-table, 'what fun it must be to go round the country just where you like writing about golf.' But even the 3am arrival could not dampen my appreciation of Miss Phyllis reading 75 and 76 with which she won the cup. It is a total which will take some beating.³⁷

Her love of sport was the main factor behind the reason she was still able to derive some gratification from her work in a difficult situation. For Helme her satisfaction came from knowing the great result of a match would be read by the winning player the next day. It is also notable that other women who were not sports writers themselves viewed her position as 'fun'. There is the collective belief that people who get to write on sport are privileged because they are doing something for money that others do out of pure desire.

Sports writers of both genders often express a sense of disbelief in having a job which they love because it means they can indulge in their passion for sport. Barnes writes that it is his 'fantasy job' because it means he gets 'paid for doing what normal people gladly pay to do'.³⁸ Mott states that she had never wanted anything 'more than to write about sports' and sets this out as her goal from the time when she 'first stepped through the doors of the *Daily Mail*.' Her desire to write about and cover the sports she loved was the same basic desire Collins writes about in his book *The Sports Writer*, when he describes how another male colleague summed up the appeal of sports writing. It as an 'arrangement by which a newspaper pays you for doing what you were going to do in any case'.³⁹ Through this arrangement people who became sports writers have found a way to make a living for themselves in an area that they cherished. This feeling is the same regardless of gender. Rudd was slightly different; she came into the profession because of her love of sport, but had reservations about doing something she enjoyed so much.

I did not care how unlikely it sounded, I had to make football my job. Occasionally I would tell someone what I had decided and then add that my one reservation was that with football was how I earned my money I might not love it so much. I do not know why I said this. I also frequently say that winning lots of money ruins your life and I believe this to be true so I do not even enter the National Lottery. But for me

³⁷ Helme, E.E. (1931). *After the Ball*. pp. 241-242

³⁸ Barnes, S. (1989). *A Sportswriters Year*. p. 1.

³⁹ Collins, P. (1996). *The Sportswriter: Twenty Years of Award-Winning Sports Journalism*. London: Virgin. p. x.

football is the equivalent of the lottery in other people's lives and I refuse to accept you can have too much of it.⁴⁰

While Rudd worried about how her profession would change her passion, it was her love of the sport that drove her on to realise her dreams and become a football reporter. Most of the women studied here were all aware that they were making a living out of something they adored and this was an experience to be treasured.

This is particularly evident in the autobiographies of Welch and Rudd. Both began their careers twenty years apart and were not 'athletes', yet these books about their lives are dominated by a sporting theme. Welch's autobiography *Long Distance Information* is a symbolic representation of how her sporting desires impinged upon her life and career. The reader follows her life written in the form of a runners log, as a link with her reminiscences of the past. It is a clever literary technique that is obviously reflective of the journey she has taken in life. Each chapter begins with the runner's diary synopsis and then uses these runs to point towards different aspects of her life.

Runner's World Training Log.

Day: Thursday. **Distance:** 6 m. **Time:** 61 min.

Weather: Dusty. **Course/notes:** Le Touquet seafront to Cucq. Big shady trees, pavements stippled with dog shit and blocked by cars, shops smelling of pain au chocolat and fish. Counted four other runners. We criss-crossed at the roundabout by the Hotel Westminster.

Life Quality: Golden.⁴¹

She uses her running journeys to trigger significant memories. In this chapter she is recalling part of the tasks undertaken for a section in the *Sunday Telegraph* called 'Active', where the reporters had to undergo the events they were to write on, in this case a Paris bicycle race. It gives the reader an idea of her character and determination to succeed. She describes the first morning as 'excruciating', but at the same time it also delves into her background and turns into a detailed historical description of how she became a Tottenham Hotspur supporter. This style of writing a biography combines her journalist skills, while using sport as the vehicle to communicate her life, illustrating how sport was the empowering aspect of her life in giving her a voice.

⁴⁰ Rudd, A. (1999). *Astroturf Blonde*. p. 62.

⁴¹ Welch, J. (1999). *Long Distance Information*. p. 6

Rudd also demonstrates the importance of sport in her life as well as a vehicle of communication for her autobiography. In *Astroturf Blonde: Up Front and Onside in a Man's Game* (1998); Rudd, a reporter on male professional football, describes her playing experiences of informal park football, another game mainly played by men. Rudd relies on male friends and colleagues to let her play in their 'kick arounds'. The autobiography centres on her entrance into the profession, like Welch, through a love of sport as a child, which developed into her playing the game with her male colleagues at the newspaper and setting up a park football team. Her account is akin to that of Glanville whose own love of the sport he covered led him to playing in a park football team that he established, with other male sports writers called the Chelsea Casuals, but she had to fight to convince her colleagues to let her join in.⁴² It is the ups and downs of her playing career in this park team which drives the narrative of the text and how the association of playing related to her employment as a sports journalist. As a woman writing about football she wanted nothing more but to play the game she covered, and try to mimic the great skills of the players she watched:

Most of what I did was unremarkable and probably the least you should be expected to do if you agree to be part of a fairly serious contest and it was a pleasure in itself just to be competent. But what I could hardly have imagined would happen, happened. I started trying my little Matthew Le Tissier impressions, something I only ever do when I am at my most uninhibited. Remarkably they came off. A high and powerful cleared ball thundered in my direction and I trapped it with the side of my heel and flicked it into Andy's path.⁴³

The book revolves around this desire to play football competently to impress her male teammates, its importance is demonstrated in the structure of the book which is written following her match fixtures. The inside cover notes that she 'is probably the last remnant of an era where a girl who loved football was not allowed to play it'.⁴⁴ It is this position as the outsider/other from which she positions herself as the subject, and it is her love of sport which is used to illustrate her story to the reader. Although both Rudd and Welch are professionally journalists first, their autobiographies show how sport was a dominant part of how they saw themselves personally.

⁴² Glanville, B. (1999). *Football Memories*. p.184.

⁴³ Rudd, A. (1998). *Astroturf Blonde*. p. 6.

⁴⁴ Rudd, A. (1999). *Ibid*. p. Inside Cover.

Whatever the level, degree of interest or significance of sport in their lives these were all, for the most part, exceptional women. They may have excelled for a variety of reasons whether as sports stars, champions or award winning journalists, but they all shared the common factor of great strength and determination to succeed.⁴⁵ Those who came from an athletic environment had outstanding records in their specialist fields. The early golf writers Wethered, Leitch, Wilson, Helme and later Fisher-Price all have an abundance of championship medals between them. Other ex-players such as Pollard, Lonsborough, and Heyhoe-Flint accrued a large number of international caps. Besford began her career as a swimmer, but continued her interest in the sport on the media side and later received a FINA (the world governing body for swimming) pin for her services to swimming. Pollard was given an OBE, and Heyhoe-Flint and Lonsborough an MBE. They were all recognised in various ways for their outstanding accomplishments.

Many of these women became visible as sports writers because of their previous achievements in sport, but Welch's talent for journalism was established before her career even began, when she was awarded the *Daily Telegraph* Young Writer of the Year while still at University. Thompson received appreciation of her literary talent in 1995 with the Somerset Maugham Award for her book *The Dogs: A Personal History of Greyhound Racing* (1994); while Mott received high recognition when she won the title 'Sports Feature Writer of the Year' in 1996 - a title which her newspaper the *Daily Telegraph* were quick to utilise as a by-line for her writing. However, Zoe Ashton has already received many awards as examples of the quality of her writing. In 1993 she was third in the EMAP Sports Writer of the Year, 1993/94 she was the Welland Valley newspaper group Sports Sub-Editor of the Year and in 1994 she was the Winner of the British Sports Association for the Disabled media award for regional newspapers. It is significant to finish on the example of Ashton, a young contemporary writer who has won success in the area of sub-editing, which was one field believed by many men that a woman could not do. All these women not only managed

⁴⁵ The Sports Writers Association could not provide this material on sports writing awards at the time of my enquiry.

to break through in a profession, against the 'norm' of who a sports writer should be, but often did so with remarkable style which showed the quality of their abilities.

There is no doubt that to conquer the traditional resistance towards women in the industry, those who were to be successful would have to be 'exceptional' women. Whether they came to the profession as athletes or supporters, they were adventurous, and did not conform to the definitions of acceptable 'feminine' behaviour. In order to comprehend who they were it was necessary to understand their socialisation and relationship to sport. This foundation is the beginning of the crucial basis from where they began to define themselves and their place within sport which led to their later career in sports writing. In most of their lives they were not introduced to sport with the kind of gender distinctions generally associated with it and for this reason they were able to confront the complexities of sport later in life. The type of relationship these women had to sport varied, but no matter how serious the commitment as either an athlete or supporter, it was a vital aspect in how they came to the role of writing about it. However valuable their sporting education and interest were, training was the vital aspect of entering the profession and it was here where there were far less similarities. The way they finally accessed the field through training, ranged from specialist journalism courses and general university education, to no training at all. Their paths into their career followed a diverse course, but a common love and desire to be in sport united them. Despite the variety of ways they were 'equipped' for the job it is their sporting hobbies, leisure pursuits, pastimes and serious professional ability which offer the greatest insight to understanding these women sports writers.

CHAPTER FIVE:

FINDING THE HIDDEN VOICE.

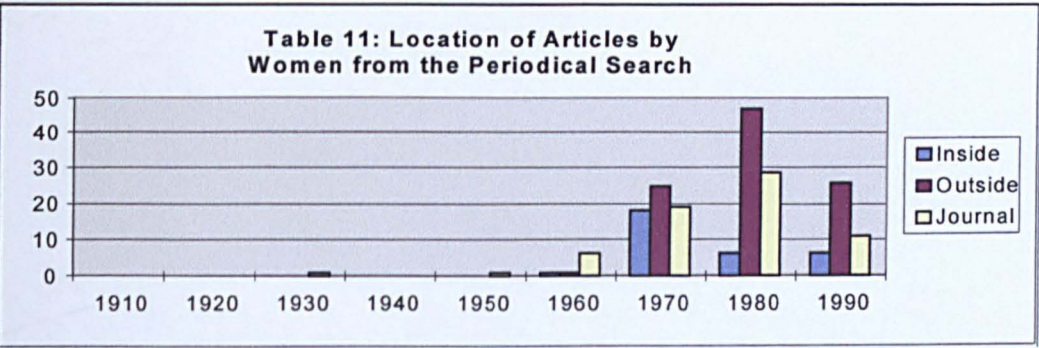
The meanest local fifth division male works team gets more respect than a women's national team.¹

The writings of women sports writers have been invisible in the print media for most of the twentieth century. Newspapers articles by women were concealed in places outside the sports section, while in books and periodicals they faced the belief that women did not have a legitimate sporting role. Their work was continually subject to negative categorisation based on the gender of the author, therefore presenting it as women's writing, rather than simply sports writing. But women were writing on sport; the question was where and how did their sporting voice develop under these circumstances? An examination of the content in various newspaper sports sections, which compared the information contained within to the sports articles found elsewhere in the paper, revealed an interesting pattern. The evidence showed that items outside the sports section had either transcended sport in terms of universal importance and become 'news' items, or they were ones which could be classified as 'feminine' - articles either by women or on women's sport. This analysis showed that as the sports section developed women writers were repeatedly not included in its scope, but were relegated to 'other' sections, such as the 'women's' page or separate 'female' sports sections. But while this relegation initially took place because of the negative connotations associated with women and sport, it did have some positive factors for women writers. This chapter will first examine the criteria of the negative placement and then consider its positive effects. It will also consider how this 'hidden' body of work can be viewed as a type of alternative canon of sports writing by women, to reclaim their 'lost' sporting voice.

The extent to which women's sports writing was found outside the conventional sports section is illustrated by Table 11. It displays information from the periodical search which shows the majority of 168 out of the total of 199 articles were located outside.² This evidence

¹ Welch, J.(1979). Women in Sport. *Observer*. 30 September. p. 30.

demonstrates it was not an unusual or unique for women sports writers to find themselves speaking as 'other'.³ It is, however, important to note that this table shows that the first significant appearance of their writing was in journals of the 1960s, illustrating the initial signs of a sports voice did occur outside of the main body of sports writing in the newspapers altogether. Table 11 also indicates the dramatic change from the 1960s to the 1970s. During this period there is a closer distribution between those articles which were 'inside' and 'outside' the newspaper sports section and those located in supplements and journals. Yet one major element of this move towards equality of the female voice is provided by the work of one woman - Welch. Her incredible career in the 1970s greatly enhanced the number of articles 'inside' the sports section. The reduction in this number in the 1980s is reflective of her career break due to the birth of her children, with other women finding their opportunities still largely restricted to areas outside the sports section. The same pattern continued into the early 1990s.

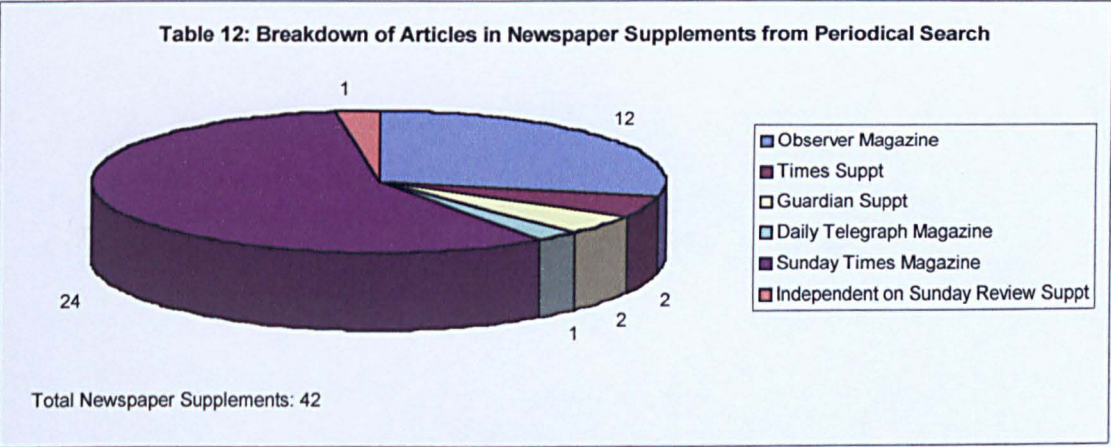


If the female sporting voice was not inside the sports section, the question is where was it? The evidence of the periodical search indicates that newspaper magazines and supplements were one of the most significant places to find writings by women on sport. The 42 articles uncovered in the magazine/supplement sections of newspapers account for the largest

² However it is significant to note here that not all of the women found in this selection can be classified as sports writers. While there were women like Welch, Kilmartin and Mott whose remit of writing was mainly sport, there were others like Jill Tweedie and Zoe Heller, journalists who specialised in interviewing personalities of which some were sport. Or Liz Gill and Janet Daley who wrote mainly on psychology and in some instances related this is psychology in sport. Although they are still significant because the placement of any sport centred writing by women, is still open to the same specifications.

³ Appendix 8.1 shows the breakdown of newspapers contained in the periodical search is highly dominated by the *Observer* and the *Guardian*, the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Times*. This is because the papers included in the *Subject Periodicals Index* where broadsheet rather than tabloid and hence this has also become the focus of this investigation.

percentage of the 64 'Journal' categorised articles shown in Table 11. These typically magazine-style supplements were designed so the readers were accustomed to expect longer, more feature-style material, common to the market of other glossy magazines of the day and not the traditional match reporting style of sports writing. They were also detached from the rest of the paper, with different titles, which confirmed their status as a separate part. This had both problems and benefits for women writers. On the one hand supplements which took on a glossy magazine format faced additional negative connotations because of their similarities with the construction of the 'women's' and 'lifestyle' magazine market which identified them as a 'woman's' area. But crucially they also allowed women sports writers a place where their authority was accepted. This trend was particularly evident in the *Sunday Times* magazine which Table 12, below, indicates was responsible for 24 of the total 42 references in this category.⁴



A variety of newspaper sections made up the remaining 99 articles, appearing on the 'women's page' or in alternative sports sections like 'Grassroots' in the *Guardian* , 'Living' in the *Independent*, 'Life and Times', 'New Society', 'Spotlight', 'Spectrum', 'News', 'Viewpoint'. 'Life Span or 'Health' in the *Sunday Times*. Only 'Sport View' in the *Sunday Times* gave a clue to its sporting content. Along with the *Times* it used a variety of other sections such as

⁴ Only the *Observer* offers a comparable view on the position of women's sporting voice within magazines and supplements in the periodical search with an inclusion of 12 articles, the contribution from the *Guardian* (two references) and the *Independent on Sunday* (one reference), are still considered as part of the overall analysis of the displacement of women writers because they represent the trends which arose in the collective study of the use of alternative areas within the newspaper structure.

'Spectrum', 'Spotlight', 'News' and 'Health' to contain sports writing by women. These show how the sports writing by women was considered different from 'normal' sports writing. For example, four of the male sport articles by women in the 1980s are found outside with two in 'Grassroots' and two in 'News Focus'. The assumption is that even though the subject matter is male sport, the gender of the writer is one of the major factors that prevents its inclusion in the traditional sports section.

To begin with it is important to consider the negative aspects of the placement of women's sports writing on, The 'Women's' Page, Magazines/ Supplements and 'Alternative' Sports Sections. The major problem is in the format of newspapers as a method of communication for the reader, because their structure is organised into identifiable sections. A reader can turn to the finance, world news or sports and expect to find writing on these fields. But what happens when writing on sport is not located in the regular sports section? Firstly it is not easily identifiable for the target reader to locate. Readers turn to a section of the newspaper for this information, they do not expect to search for it in hidden places. Secondly it suggests the piece of work does not fit the criteria of the particular area and so it does not qualify as of interest to the target reader. The assumption in this type of placement of women's sports writing insinuates that it is unconventional and not of interest to the assumed male sex of their readers. This created a situation where those articles 'inside' the sports section were valued as 'sports writing' by the newspaper and those 'outside' were not.

A further question is why was their work placed there? When the female gender was obviously on display it was not included in the sports section. Even when women wrote on men's sports, it was defined as 'feminine' simply because of the gender of the author. The regularity with which this happens to sports writing by women in the periodical search, suggests they were a victim to the process of 'engendering' - ie: the pieces are excluded because they are written by women or discuss women.

For example, many of the articles on women's sporting heroines were not found in the sports section. One on Rachel Heyhoe, titled 'A bit of old heave ho', was part of a series in 1973 on

the 'Heroines of British Sports' - and clearly a celebration of her sporting life as it was accompanied by a large picture of her bowling, but was not found on the sports pages.⁵ Nor was 'Air Lady Explains: Why I Lived Dangerously' (1977), on an exceptional woman aviation and racing driver whose sporting achievements are placed on the *Daily Telegraph's* 'women's' page.⁶ The result of the periodical search showed the *Daily Telegraph* was one of the most notorious for not including women's sport in its sports section. References from the 1970s found it contributed nine of the 16 female articles found 'outside' and all were instead placed on a 'women's' page. Two reports on women's golf, 'Three Girls get Pop Promotion' (1977) and '...Rock the World of Ladies Golf' (1977) were found at the bottom of a page whose main lead article was on diamond chandeliers.⁷ In the 1980s section of the study four of those outside were also from the *Daily Telegraph*; two were profiles on sporting heroines and two were on women's sports events. 'Revolution of the Rugby Field' (1980) and 'It's a Brighter Scene when Women Pot the Black' (1981) on women's snooker, both are highlighting the accomplishment of women in traditional male sports.⁸ It is only the gender of the subject which effects its displacement and finds them sandwiched between a mix of obituaries and a personal page. The two profiles on sports women are treated in the same manner. For example 'Wimbledon Now, by a Champion' (1972) is by an ex-player on her history and view of the game. As it is written during the current tournament it is a relevant sporting topic that could have justifiably been included with the contemporary event reports.⁹ Instead it is hidden at the bottom of the page with main articles on Falcons and Restaurant trends and in between Courts and Social, Saturday Column, Personnel Page and Travel Section. The second, 'Virginia is Talking her Way Back to the Top' (1983) is the lead article on the page, but this piece explored the challenges of a woman commentator on Wimbledon.

⁵ Hamilton, A. (1973). A Bit of the Old Heave Ho. *Guardian*. 22 June. p.11.

⁶ Edmunds, L. (1977). An Air Lady Explains. p. 11.

⁷ Khan, L. (1977). Three Girls get Pop Promotion. *Daily Telegraph*. 20 July. p. 15; And Benn, E. (1977). ...And Rock the World of Ladies Golf. *Daily Telegraph*. 20 July. p. 15.

⁸ Edmunds, L. (1980). Revolution on the Rugby Field. *Daily Telegraph*. 3 January. p. 11; And Abbott, M. (1981). It's a Brighter Scene. p.15.

⁹ Morris, E. (1982). Wimbledon Now, by a Champion. *Daily Telegraph*. 19 June. p. 11.

Again, during the time of the tournament it is ideal for the sports section, but instead it is situated with the gardening articles.¹⁰

Other sporting articles by women found outside the sports section were those which were a 'feminine' view of male sports. For instance 'The Crying Game' (1989) which analysed the emotional displays in male professional football is found on 'Thursday Women's Page'.¹¹ The examples in the 'Grassroots' section in the *Guardian* in the 1970s concentrate on the deeper aspect of the people behind the sports, the private 'feminine' sphere of sporting life. In 'Lords, here we come again' (1979) the theme of the article is about a successful male village cricket club, yet it does not simply cover the match, but explains the input of how the whole village was involved in the running of the club.¹² It is interesting that there are no contributions of writing by women in the sports section of this edition of the paper. Another example, 'Scrum Down: A Mother's Right to Choose' (1982) is on the fear of injuries surrounding young boys who play rugby from a mother's perspective.¹³ It concentrates on serious issue facing children who take part in contact sports, yet because it is from the view of a female parent it is not discussed in the sports section, but on the 'women's page' in the *Times* with the title, 'Wednesday Page -Perils of Child's Play. Home Growths. Hope in Schizophrenia'. Other examples of a female/mother's perspective of serious professional sports are also not found on the sports pages. 'The Price of Excellence: How much Time, Dedication and Money does it take for a Talented Child to reach the Top in Sport? (1978) discusses the dedication of developing sports stars from a parenting angle.¹⁴ It is also repeated in the placement of the Valerie Grove interview titled 'Would you Sell this Man your Son?' (1991) about the training of young tennis players in academies: because it is written by a woman she is assumed to be speaking to other women as mothers.¹⁵ Even writing with a focus on children which appears to be upholding the traditional constructions of sport, like

¹⁰ Thatcher, C. (1983). Virginia is Talking her Way Back to the Top. *Daily Telegraph*. 22 June. p. 15.

¹¹ Ellison, J. (1989). The Crying Game. *Guardian*. 2 February. p. 17.

¹² Cooke J.(1979). Lords here we come ...again. *Guardian*. 13 June. p. 9.

¹³ Mason, H. (1982). Scrum Down: A Mother's Right to Choose? *Times*. 2 June. p. 8.

¹⁴ Jones, P.(1978). The Price of Excellence how much Time, Dedication and Money does it take for a Talented Child to reach the Top in Sport? *Sunday Times*.. 12 February. Magazine. pp. 18-9.

'Little Smashers', 'How to get the Champions we want' and 'How the Florida tennis grows Champions', which concentrates on the 'masculinised' trait of how to prosper in serious competition, are sited outside because of the supposed relation to parenting and other 'feminine' concerns.

During the 1980s the 'Grassroots' section became a regular site for the inclusion of sports writing by Cynthia Bateman, in particular, until the early 1990s when she emigrated to Australia. Her writing here regularly covers sporting issues. Three examples of her work are all on male professional sporting event from the televisionisation of the snooker world championships to the money markets in boxing.¹⁶ In each article she takes an 'inside' look, which as discussed in Chapter Two writing features suited women's work patterns and as Chapter Six notes is a inherently 'feminine' style. But by reviewing the function of the event and there is actually no obvious 'feminine' connotation in the work other than her gender.

The *Times* and the *Sunday Times* were less obvious in their relocation of women writing on sport. For example, 'The World at his Feet' (1989) is located in an area entitled 'New Society' but its layout actually mirrors that of the sports pages. The article contains a large action shot of Nicky Barnby, the subject in focus, in the same style of those on the sports section. But the header 'New Society' disassociates it as a sports area, though the sub-head recognises its sporting value. It states

Britain's leading football clubs are beating a hurried path to the backstreet home of a 15 year old school boy in Hull in a desperate effort to secure a monopoly on his soccer skills. The prodigious talent of Nicky Barnby heralds a career rich with the promise of unlimited opportunity. Lynne Greenwood follows his first steps on the road to fame and fortune and examines the disappointment which may lie along the way if that promise is unfulfilled.¹⁷

The focus on the sport is apparent, but this is an article by a woman which focuses on his personal development. Another essentially sporting article by Anne Spackman, 'Soccer: Who Cares?' (1985) on the decline in attendances at male professional football matches was

¹⁵ Grove, V. (1991). Would You Sell this Man Your Son? *Sunday Times*. 7 July. Section 2, p. 3.

¹⁶ Bateman, C. (1981). Chess with Balls. *Guardian*. 3 April. p. 16; And Bateman, C. (1981). The Champion versus the Peanut Vendors. *Guardian*. 12 June. p. 9.

¹⁷ Greenwood, L. (1989). The World at his Feet. *Sunday Times*. 16 April. p. F1.

also placed in a section called 'Week In Focus'.¹⁸ This is the lead article, but why is it not in the sports section? Is it because it is a woman in the role of outsider exposing the frailties in the game?

This study revealed that women's sports writing was only included inside the sports section when they conformed to more 'masculine' ideals of women's role in sport for example.

'Drives behind the Glamour Girl' (1973) on golfer Jan Stephenson is located on the bottom corner of the front page of the sports section of the *Guardian*.¹⁹ The acceptance of this piece is on the basis of the sexualisation of the sports woman as an object for the pleasure of its male readers. The article is accompanied by a glamorous pose of a female golfer with her skirt blowing up in the air while she struggles to hold it down with a smiling face gazing suggestively into the camera. Even though the content is on her dedication as a player and her achievements in the sport, its presentation is sexist. It is the provocative picture which dominates the article and detracts from the discussion of her playing capabilities. The questions is why is it located in the sports section when two other articles, a match report and a feature by the same writer on the same sport, are positioned outside on a page with cookery and gardening articles? She is accepted when the subject can be sexualised in to a 'feminine' role of sexual object for the appreciation of the male readers, yet when a women is competing in a 'masculine' manner she is removed to another page.

One of the most significant sections for the inclusion of women's sports writing was the 'women's page', where their writing was placed on the assumption it was not of interest to the male sports readers. This separation and 'compartmentalisation' of 'woman' in the newspapers was, Baistow argues in his article, 'Ladies of the Street' (1972), part of a formula that defines women readers 'as if *la difference* [sic] put them on a lower intellectual plane'.²⁰ It is formed on the assumption that the content in the rest of the paper is not for women, and in the case of sport it is not so much the conjecture about a lesser intellect, but beliefs about their interests. Baistow contends that the structure of the newspapers in this way totally

¹⁸ Spackman, A. (1985). Soccer who Cares? *Sunday Times*. 18 August. p. 15.

¹⁹ Khan, L. (1983). Drives behind the Glamour Girl. *Guardian*. 6 August. p. 11.

²⁰ Baistow, T. (1972). Ladies of the Street. *New Statesman*. 12 May. p. 632.

disregards the true accomplishments of women who 'have played a serious part in journalism' and those who have proved their expertise to editors and colleagues, but 'have never achieved equality as journalists or readers'.²¹

Sporting articles by women in the Guardian were often located on 'Guardian Women' or 'Tuesday Women' - a woman's page by another name. Many were not clearly identified by the title 'women', but hidden behind names like the *Times* 'Wednesday Page' or 'Friday Page', which did indeed function in the same way as other conventional 'woman's page', even after the 'women's page' was claimed to have been scrapped by the paper, following demands from some women editors to see readers treated 'like people and not women'.²² In the 1980s selection of articles, four of those written by women 'outside' the sports section are from the *Daily Telegraph* and in each case they are all on *unofficial* 'women's pages' - in that they were not directly titled as 'women'.

While the use of 'women's' pages was a highly popular format for the containment of women writing on women's sport, the *Times* and the *Sunday Times* also utilised alternatively named 'female' sports sections for the inclusion of this type of writing. One particular example was 'Merry Go Round' with the sub head 'Looks at Sporting Life'. The header is a pictorial of a woman's face with the words 'merry-go-round' in an elaborate decorative detail semi-circling around her in a flowery crown enhancing the 'feminine' connotations. The reference found in this section, 'Swinging the Southpaw' was a profile of a woman golfer, Kathryn Phillips, as she prepares for the British Girls Championship. The writer, Lewine Mair, gives the reader the subject's background and her approach to a golfing career, but it is put on a page which contains a small header in the top left hand corner entitled 'The Arts & Women's Features'. This sports section for women also includes pictures of bronze medal winner for shooting, Susan Swallow, at the world championship and another profile of Virginia Wade as she prepares to 'defend her United States Open Tennis singles' title. Whatever the title or the format, women's writing on sport is categorised by gender and not topic.

²¹ Baistow, T. (1972). *Ladies of the Street*. p. 632.

²² Forgan, L. (1980). Women in the Times: A Certain Set of Reticence. *Guardian*. 8 December. p. 10.

The 'women's page' and other alternative female sports sections, did clearly identify and separate writing strictly on the basis of gender. But although this ultimately presented women's sports writing as other, it also offers a place where women writers could explore subject areas outside the traditional restrictions of 'sports writing'. By examining the work placed in other newspaper sections there is evidence that an alternative body of sports writing by women did exist and most significantly that it allowed women the space to address issues, subjects and events that were important to them. While this meant the female voice was unable to effect change directly from within, women writers were instead able to assert their concerns from these outside areas. Even though this 'canon' of work by women only existed as a reaction to the removal of the female sporting voice from the sports pages, it did offer a place where their work could be found and valued.

This was not a factor unique to women in sports writing. Feminist historians have done a great deal of work to uncover the systems of writing used by women and to suggest the continued presence of their voice in contrast to its repression in powerful mediums, like the press. Some have reclaimed women's letters as evidence of women writing throughout history and many of those collections were published as an example of the women's experience in their time. Eliza Heywood (1693-1756) published her letters and later went on to set up her own newspaper for women. She began as an outsider with her letters, but gradually communicated in a more commanding position (newspapers). Her letters showed a desire to communicate and she found a way to be heard, as did women writers in alternative locations to the traditional sports pages.

The three outside locations in newspapers; magazines and supplements, alternative sports sections and the 'women's' page where their work was found, all had complicated factors. Magazines and supplements may have represented how women were ostracised from the sports pages, but they also offered the opportunity for new styles and topics to be discussed. Often these articles were longer, more in-depth pieces, usually accompanied by pictures which gave additional insight to the reader. In one respect the often total separation from newspapers allowed the female voice the freedom to comment. Writers such as Welch,

Carol Price and Mott all had success with their interview features of famous sports stars appearing in various magazine supplements. (See Bibliography 1.2 Periodical Search). In some instance the remote location from the sports page allowed them a more authoritative voice. In the four articles found in the *Times* and the *Sunday Times* in the early 1990s, the writers were presented with a suggestion of direct communication between the writer and the male subject in focus. The sub-heads of all describe the women as 'talking' to their subjects.²³ In particular, an article by Mott, 'Can he Kick it?' in the *Sunday Times* magazine shows her authority by allowing her to answer the question in the title in the subhead 'Yes, he can'.²⁴ The separation of the magazine from the paper may have represented a distinction between men and women sports writers, but its distance also offered women an opportunity to speak about sport.

The 'women's page offered the space and the freedom to discuss the issues in sport that were particularly relevant to their sex and in some instances aimed to influence a change in the matters that restricted women. Although the 'women's' page was negative because of the way it separated and genders the format of the newspaper, that separation can also allow room for a positive mode of expression. Its role had changed to become more feminist in its tone by the 1970s, but from as early as the 1920s it has often included the voice of feminism as reflected by the times, to its role in the 1960s in switching the focus away from 'old-style children, cooking and clothes' to broaden coverage to politics, life-styles and social issues, these transitions show how it could operate as a form of empowerment.²⁵ While women remained exceptional in all other areas of the paper, their voice became the rule on this page. In 1967 an article on the *Times* women's page indicated the deliberate intention by the female editors to use it as a place for 'hard news' for the interests of women. Women's editor Suzanne Puddefoot noted her pleasure at the 'Monday page' because of its content of 'news as hard as we can get it'.²⁶ Her aim was to 'show women that they have a place in public life...as widely as possible' and it was significant that part of this re-admittance was to

²³ Muir, K. (1992). *The All-Rounder*. pp. 4-6; Woods, V. (1990). *Football's Mr Fixit*. pp. 4-6.

Price, C. (1991). *Food for Fitness*. p. 68.

²⁴ Mott, S. (1993). *Can he Kick it?* pp. 4-5.

²⁵ Barr, P. (1977). *Newspapers*. In *Is this your Life?* p. 77.

²⁶ The *Sunday Times* name for their 'women's page' at this time.

show their place in sport.²⁷ Barr suggests in her chapter on Newspapers in *Is this your Life? Images of Women in the Media* (1977) that the evolution of the women's page was useful because it mirrored the progress of women's lives in the wider society.²⁸ As the interests, culture and politics of women's lives changed this could be seen reflected in the content of the page. The role of the 'women's' page served as a site where women's achievements that were missing from the sports pages were celebrated.

One of the most significant benefits of the alternative areas of newspapers was the opportunity it gave women writers to discuss women's issues in the game. In particular, aspects of sex discrimination in sport were often raised here. For instance, 'A Woman's Place is in the Home Straight' (1980), looks at the rise of women jockeys and their proficiency for the sport in contrast to the battle against their taking part.²⁹ Another on the right for women to become jockeys, 'A Ticket to Ride - At Last' (1972), was located in the *Times* 'Viewpoint' section: although an opinion page, its title 'Features for Women' categorised it as a woman's view on a feminine issue.³⁰ Both examine women's fight to play traditional male sports, the main stay of the sports pages. Employment discrimination for women in the sporting realm was also a common area written about. 'Golfer, Vivian finds it a Tough Course to Play' (1976) highlights the issue of sex discrimination in the employment of golf professionals.³¹ McKee in 'The Swinging Sexists' also asks whether golf courses were 'an unsuitable place for a woman?' (1989).³² This focus was on sexist rules in golf clubs and how they affected women. Its position in the regular sports section would have been seen as a direct threat to the traditional male dominated structures of golf clubs. Welch's article in *The Times* 'A Match for the Boys' (1989) asks if the presence of women on the football terraces could help reduce the violence in football.³³ By asking the question whether women

²⁷ Seven Reasons Why the Times is a Pleasure to Read. [Hilary Gelson, Suzy Menkes, Valerie Knox, Prudence Glynn, Jeanette Collins, Sue Puddefoot, Patricia de Joux]. (1967). *Sunday Times*. 9 April. Magazine. p. 46.

²⁸ Barr, P. (1977). Newspapers. In *Is this your Life?* p. 77.

²⁹ Stinson, H. and Thompson, S. (1980). A Women's Place is in the Home Straight. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 23 November. pp. 108-9.

³⁰ Wansell, G. (1972). A Ticket to Ride - At Last. *Times*. 1 May. p. 9.

³¹ Khan, L. (1976). Golfer, Viven finds it a Tough Course to Play. *Daily Telegraph*. 17 November. p. 17.

³² McKee, V. (1989). The Swinging Sexists. *Times*. 23 June. 17.

³³ Welch, J. (1989). A Match for the boys? *Times*. 19 May. p. 21.

could in fact help to resolve the problem in male sport, she is empowering the role of women on the football terraces.

Often the freedom of these areas allowed women writers to challenge the conventional ideals of sports women. Articles such as 'Manmade Super Women' (1983) focus on the strength of women.³⁴ While 'Innings and Outings' (1991) looks at why so many lesbians in sport keep quiet about their sexuality in order not to challenge traditional gender roles.³⁵ Both of these concerns about sexuality have arisen because they are in contrast to the conventional constructions of women as sexual objects. 'Is it Near-Pornography, Titillation, Degrading to Women? Or is it a Manifestation of Strong Women, Equal to Men?' (1985) confronts the degradation faced by women athletes over their bodies when they either take on a non-established 'feminine' appearance, in the representation of muscles, or in the way their sports are sexualised for the pleasure of male audiences.³⁶ It also questions how women in sport are viewed as sexual objects and seeks to undermine how this image operates on the 'masculine' ideal of the sports pages. This questioning of a sexist portrayal of sports women continues into the 1990s where 'Running Standing Still' (1992) was found on a page title 'Woman', which was ironically on the page previous to the sports section and would have blended in, if not for the title.³⁷ It examines how gender myths have restricted women and challenges the image of women as weaker than men. The sub-heading states 'if women were allowed to compete on an equal footing with men, would they race away with sport's glittering prizes?'. Its argument suggests this view of women is necessary to substantiate the image of men's sporting superiority and to remove it would threaten the status quo of gendered sporting ability.

The detachment did offer women writers the opportunity to challenge the traditional gender relations in sport. Two examples of articles that challenge the gender status quo were discussed in the *Observer* magazine. Both 'The Sporting Sex: Five Sportswomen' (1983) and 'Battle of the Bulge' (1989) are written by the same writers six years apart. Both

³⁴ Lovesey, J. (1983). Man-made Superwoman. *The Sunday Times*. 14 August.

³⁵ Davis, M.(1991). Innings and Outings. *Guardian*. 12 December. p. 34.

³⁶ Toynbee, P. (1985). Is it Near Pornography. p. 21.

contemplate the restrictions and negative assumptions of the biological sex differences in sport.³⁸ The first considers the gap between male and female sport. It is based on the fact that the only sports in which women can compete equally with men were equestrian, such as the 'Horse of the Year Show', where the physical display of the animal are more in question, than the physical capabilities of gender difference. It details women's growing experience in sport and argues it was a sign of their abilities and featured five accomplished sports women: Wendy Norman, Pentathlete; Mandy Fisher, snooker player; Sarah Potter, cricketer; Liz Hobbs, water-ski racer; Mandy Jones, cyclist. The emphasis in pictures of them was on their competitive action and not their female bodies. The second article was also displaced because of its subject; how 'women body builders are confronting the 'feminine' stereotype at the 'most fundamental levels, the physical'.³⁹ The accompanying picture is cut off at the torso so only the female subject's head is removed to focus on her muscular body. This presentation defies the traditional construction of female beauty. By removing the head the face can no longer be used as a symbol of beauty. In addition it removes the individuality and presents a more generic image of the female body. In this article the writer highlighted the cultural debates on how far women should take the muscular development of their bodies. She argues that a wider evolution towards health and fitness, did not have to mean a loss of femininity, rather it demanded a re-definition of what was 'feminine'.

The positive effects of 'alternative' sports sections also offer the opportunity to redefine existing assumptions about sport and women. Welch writes about a new sports section called 'Active: The Essential Guide to Taking Part' in her autobiography *Long Distance Information* (1999) that she was employed on in the 1990s.⁴⁰ The remit of this section involved undergoing a variety of physical tasks and writing about her experiences for the reader. Welch described it as 'a new kind of sports writing' directed at encouraging the readers to take up physical activity rather than simply informing them of the achievements of others.

³⁷ Birkett, D. (1992). Running Standing Still. *Guardian*. 23 July. p. 21.

³⁸ Pattullo, P and Welch, J. (1983) The Sporting Sex: Five Sportswomen. *Observer*. 2 October. Magazine. pp. 29-31, 33; And Pattullo, P. (1989). Battle of the Bulge. *Observer*. 24 June. Magazine. pp. 26-7, 29.

³⁹ Pattullo, P. (1989). Battle of the Bulge. p. 26.

Instead of being bums on seats, pontificating about the state of British Tennis or the Moral Fibre of the England Cricket team, 'Active' reporters had to get in shape and go out there and walk the walk themselves. (The kind old sportswriters were of course known as Passive or sometimes Falling Off Their Bar Stool And Being Carried Out By Their Friends).⁴¹

In writing here Welch transcended previous gender distinctions and even exposed the assumed sporting expertise of the male voice by positioning them as 'passive' or even incompetent drunks. The juxtaposition of the female contribution to a section, with a dynamic, traditionally 'masculine' association of sports participation, demonstrated the progress women had made in the promotion and acceptance of their sporting voice in other areas of the paper. Although many of the alternative sections in the periodical search were undermined by less physical titles giving them a more feminine association and continuing the contrast of women writers as 'other', Welch's example shows a different picture.

The positive space of their placement outside the sports section allowed women writers to re-claim of the achievements of sports women. This relegation of sporting heroines, their events and teams, as described above in conventional newspaper sport sections hid their accomplishments. The 'profile' category of the periodical search confirms this theme was important to portray women's sports as a way of presenting role models to inspire readers and challenge the traditional construction of sporting women. Of the 19 profiles which look at the players in the games, 13 of these focus on female players, all exceptional because they had become successful as sports women - successful at challenging their gender's assumptions in sport. (See Appendix 8.3.2) These are all featured in the 1960s, 70s and 80s as women were pushing into sport and questioning why they were not allowed in or accepted. While these women may have been displaced from the sports section because of their gender, in the alternative areas their talent is celebrated.

Articles such as 'Three Girls Get Pop Promotion' (1977), 'The Sporting Sex, Five Sports Women' (1983) and 'In Praise of Fast Women' (1987) all celebrate groups of sports women.

⁴⁰ Welch, J. (1999). *Long Distance Information*. p. 4.

⁴¹ Welch, J. (1999). *Long Distance Information*. p. 4.

All place their emphasis on how women overcame obstacles to become successful.⁴² The first is a representation of three women golfers who have taken the decision to become professional and wanting to be the best they can be. The second has the same theme and features five women who discuss their competitive nature and its relationship with their female bodies, while the last is a review of a book which is celebration of this entire relationship. By showing how women have fought gender discrimination to become winners and act as an inspiration to other women. Women writers are taking a positive step towards altering the invisibility of women in the sports pages.

The promotion of individual success also presents a positive ideal of the sporting woman and challenges the traditional constructions of passivity. This is evident in 'Swinging Southpaw' and 'Rising Young Star Drives off with a Cash Handicap' both by Mair, which again feature talented young female golfers.⁴³ Showing women who are all serious competitors begins to raise the overall profile of their potential to achieve, because their physical prowess disputes the contention that they do not play 'serious' sport. Similarly the profile of 'Potter's Craft', on female cricketer Sarah Potter, who is introduced to the reader as 'one of our leading cricketers', not only describes the individual talent, but begins with the historical background of women in this game to validate their accomplishments and illustrate how they have attained respect in other countries, whereas the same type of talent is not respected in England.⁴⁴ The styles of profiles highlight the myths that have defined women by showing examples of women who do take sport seriously, to disprove the 'masculine' sporting ideal.

Articles found in other areas of the newspapers were often direct in their concern to challenge the myths of women's participation and ability in sport. Articles like, 'Women in Sport: Four Generations of Change' (1935) and 'Leaving the Touchline for the Glories of the

⁴² Khan, L. (1977). Three Girls get Pop Promotion. p. 15; Pattullo, P and Welch, J. (1983). The Sporting Sex. pp. 29-31, 33; And Evans, S.J. (1987). In Praise of Fast Woman. *Guardian*. 28 October. p. 26.

⁴³ Mair, L. (1969). Swinging Southpaw. *Times*. 25 August. p. 5; And Mair, L. (1975). A Rising Young Star Drives off with Cash Handicap. *Times*. 29 November. p. 14.

⁴⁴ Cleave, M. (1985). Potter's Craft. *Observer*. 4 August. Magazine. pp. 17-8.

Scrum' (1985) both present the reader with evidence of women as sporting beings.⁴⁵ The first uses the promotion of historical evidence as proof of their interest in sports and verification of their achievements to depict the valid role of sports women. The second disputes established myths by showing how women's rugby is a serious and growing sport. Although they are fifty years apart the theme remains the same - women are fighting to communicate a different view of women. By demonstrating that their lack of presence on the sports pages did not mean women were not involved in sports, these women writers can produce a challenge to the image of women presented by the sports pages.

The alternative canon also provided an area to discuss issues like 'Does a Nice Girl want to be a Shot Putter?' (1985) where the destructive assumptions of what a 'feminine' body should look like can be explored.⁴⁶ It allows references such as 'Staying Power' (1982) to highlight how women's participation in the marathon is in contrast to the suppositions of behavioural sex differences, and 'Sport for All?' (1988) to question the effectiveness of new initiatives intended to assist women.⁴⁷ 'From the Terraces' (1988) challenges the traditional arrangement of sports, considering how women have gained a voice in the form of a new football fanzine for women, one which looks at how a 'number of female fans are taking aim at male myths about women in the game.'⁴⁸ Outside the remit of the sports pages they can confront the dilemma and not only prove participation, ability and desire here, but also contest the gender assumptions which influence other women who in turn internalise the detrimental view of 'feminine' normally presented there.

While the other sections inside the newspaper provided a place for women to express a sporting voice, other publications offered an even greater freedom and opportunity. Table 12 above, illustrates the importance in the role of the journal articles found in the periodical search. The examination of the articles in periodicals, such as *Spectrum*, *New Society*, *The*

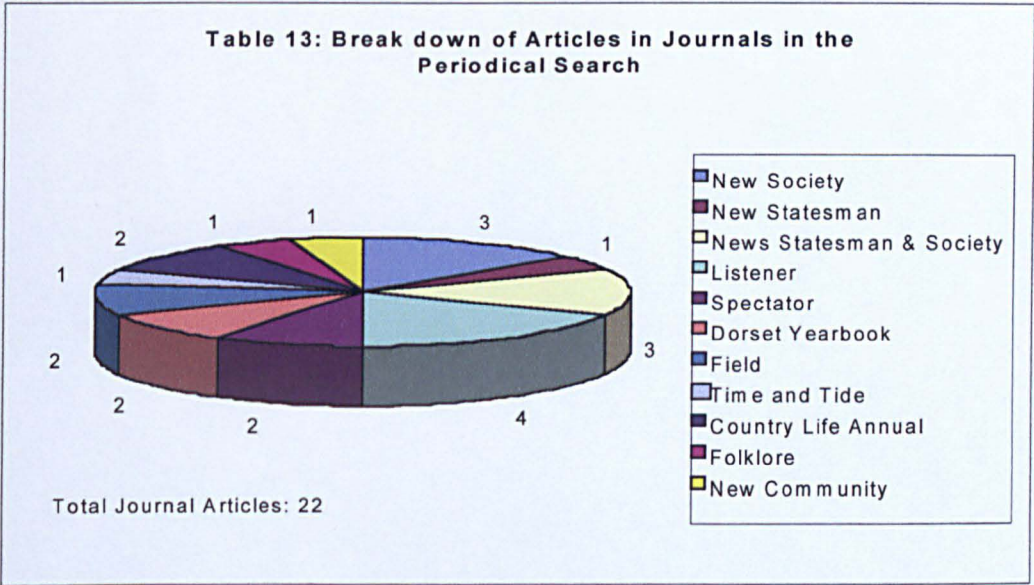
⁴⁵ Londonderry, Marchioness of. (1935). Women in Sport and War: Four Generations of Change. *Field*. 4 May, pp. 1022-24; And Rodwell, L. (1985). Leaving the Touch Line for the Glories of the Scrum. *Times*. 10 April. p. 9.

⁴⁶ Bateman, C. (1983). Does a Nice Girl want to be a Shot Putter. *Guardian*. p. 8.

⁴⁷ Ferris, E. (1982). Staying Power. *Guardian*. 28 April. p. 9; And Hanson, M. (1988). Sport for All? *Guardian*. 26 September. p. 18.

⁴⁸ O'Brien, L. (1988). From the Terraces. *Guardian*. 21 June. p. 16.

New Statesman, *New Community*, and *The Listener*, shows the alternative canon of sports writing spread well beyond newspapers. Table 13 illustrates the diversity of journals, many of which were not known for their inclusion of sporting articles, and yet the evidence shows this was where a significant percentage (22 of the total of 64 journal articles) occurred.⁴⁹ The writings of women which were found in the non-sporting journals, depicted in Table 13, are again distanced from the traditional male sporting voice in the conventional newspaper sports section.⁵⁰ The evidence of this search shows that although the female narrative did not find a regular sporting expression here (as the articles here in the 1970s were only occasional and from a diverse range), they do offer further proof of the continued existence of sports writing by women.



The collection of articles uncovered in non-sporting journals in the periodical search often used the opportunity to raise the profile of women’s sport. Many of the early examples here reflect the changes in the growing leisure time for middle class women at the turn of the century, and the emergence of the ‘new woman’ and her desire to sweep other women along into more traditional masculine areas, as discussed in Chapter Two. This can be seen in the examples in *Country Life Annual* and *Time and Tide*. In *Country Life Annual*, both the articles were historical reviews detailing the accomplishment of women over a period of time and

⁴⁹ Both the contributions from magazines/supplements and independent journals make-up the figures ‘Journal’ as detailed in Table 12.

thus reclaiming their place in sport. In 'Women Golfers through the Years' (1972) and 'Eleven Maids Dressed all in White' (1973) women's role as golfers and cricketers is discussed.⁵¹ In the first article the writer is seeking to assert the value of women's cricket and its place in the public realm. She states

During a season devoted to masculine occasions, which at times can become too monastic an interlude with the women can make a refreshing change of pace and masculine dominated sports.⁵²

These comments show the intention of the writer to assert a legitimate place for them. The writer's recollections of the games between Wethered and Leitch in the late 1920s and other great women players, perhaps not remembered or celebrated in 1972, inserts them back into the sporting memory. The second article has the same goals, because it is assuring the reader of the existence of women in cricket, in contrast to their invisibility on the sports pages. It begins by presenting information on 'The White Heather Cricket', which was formed by a group of Ladies during the summer of 1887'.⁵³ This reference demonstrates the writer's aim to dispel the belief that cricket 'as a game for women, was a revolutionary idea' and she does this by describing the achievements of teams from the past and celebrating their matches.⁵⁴

The concept that women have not participated in sports or they are incapable of doing so is also challenged in articles like 'Ungirdled to the Net' (1977) in *The Listener* and 'Well Held Ma'am' (1962) in *Time and Tide*.⁵⁵ The first tells how tennis was a sport that was originally designated for both men and women for recreation, yet once it becomes a serious contest and money is concerned it is deemed the preserve of men. This disputes the traditional arrangement that only men's competition is a 'proper' sport, by showing how women play the game and are only removed in importance when the game becomes a question of money

⁵⁰ Like the newspapers covered, they are mainly high-brow journals, which is indicative of the value given to journals by the creators of the index and not this study.

⁵¹ Ward -Thomas, P. (1972). Women Golfers through the years. *Country Life Annual*. p. 22.
Davis, C. (1973). Eleven Maids Dressed all in White. *Country Life*. Vol. 53., 19 April, pp. 1046-7.

⁵² Ward -Thomas, P. (1972). Women Golfers. p. 22.

⁵³ Davis, C. (1973). Ibid. p. 1046.

⁵⁴ Davis, C. (1973). Ibid. p. 1046.

and power - all traditional 'masculine' traits. The second it is confident in its assessment of women's feeling for the game of cricket, stating 'the girls go on playing until they are driven off the recreation grounds by autumn footballers'. It also tries to place women's cricket historically by its reference to it as 'starting as a game for rustic village maidens, it becomes a sport for country house parties, and was taken up by energetic ladies'.⁵⁶ This presents to the reader women's cricket in a substantial profile, placing it resolutely in the past and the present. The encouragement for women in cricket here is not a surprise as the journal was started in a left wing feminist paper in the 1920s. It provided the kind of opportunity women writers utilised in the women's pages, where their voice was for once unchallenged in its value.⁵⁷

Like the alternative sections in newspapers, the writing found in these journal articles gave women the opportunity to celebrate the sporting female. 'The Singer as Athlete' (1973) from *The Listener*, compares Anne Pashley's two careers. The sub-head informs the reader of her credentials; firstly her silver medal in the 1956 Melbourne Olympics women's sprint relay and holder of the British women's record for the 100 yards; secondly her more recent reputation as a singer at the Opera House in Covent Garden. She opens with her own views on the common traits of both.

In athletics, the aim is to train the body as a whole to produce its best in a certain field, to run faster than someone else, to jump higher, to throw further. In singing, one had to be a vocal athlete, and there are some quite specific muscles and skills which have to be highly trained.⁵⁸

Her description of both careers indicates to the reader her dedication in pursuing her talents. This is an example of how women writers were discussing sports stories from a different perspective. Others gave women writers the opportunity to speak authoritatively and critically on male sport. For example 'Reflections on Wimbledon' (1981) in *The Spectator* gives the writers subjective account of how umpiring should be improved as well as the relationships

⁵⁵ Makins, V. (1962). Oh! Well Held, Ma'am! *Time and Tide*. 43. 21 June. pp. 30-1. And Brophy, B. (1977). Ungirdled to the Net. *Listener*. 97, 16 June. pp. 796-8.

⁵⁶ Makins, V. (1962). Oh! Well Held, Ma'am! p. 30.

⁵⁷ Rowbotham, S. (1999). *A Century of Women*. p. 136.

⁵⁸ Pashley, A. (1974) The Singer as Athlete. Anne Pashley Compares her Two Careers. *Listener*. 91, 9 May. p. 607.

between umpires and players.⁵⁹ In 'The Stress of the Long Distance Sports Person', in *New Society*, the writer promises to look at the 'psychology' of the pressure of sports people, and the dangers of over competition, a traditionally 'masculine' trait.⁶⁰ 'Fair Game' (1992) in *The New Statesman and Society* looks at the boom in women playing football and the lingering opinion by male authorities that it is not a game for women.⁶¹ It opens with a quotation from Ted Croker, then secretary of the Football Association, that 'Women, are just not interested in football'. This reference in the periodical search was the first discussion on women's football outside of the newspapers. Though none of these journals were sporting in content, they did allow a place for women to find a sporting voice. In each article the writers' own opinions and perceptions are the primary focus, which again suggests a freedom for the female voice.

However, the most significant area of the alternative canon of writing for women was their writing in journals and books. Outside the results of both the periodical search and the newspapers, a selection of sports-specific journals and books were examined to see how the female sporting voice further developed. The distance of the contributions here are part of the widest reaches of an alternative canon of sports writing by women - all the more reason not to disregard the evidence of their work here. It was in these sports journals and books, where women could use their voice to inform, educate and challenge the myths of what was considered 'sport' and 'sports writing'. Where the goals and aims of these women would not have found a place in the traditional arrangement of sports writing in the newspapers, they established, wrote and often self-published texts which aimed to get their message across. In the case of the early writers, like Pollard, Leitch, Wilson, Wethered, Helme, Thompson and Heyhoe, their goal as ex-sports women themselves was to write instructional texts with the aim to encourage other women to participate in sport. These texts often took on the form of a practical coaching role, illustrating and informing the reader of the practicalities on how to play individual sports. Pollard's *Women's Cricket* and *Women's Hockey* in the 1930s were

⁵⁹ Brophy, B. (1981). Reflections on Wimbledon. *Spectator*. 11 July. pp. 14-5.

⁶⁰ Tysoe, M. (1982) The Stress of the Long-Distance Sports Person. *New Society*. 8. July. pp. 47-9.

⁶¹ Ellis, C. (1992). Fair Game. p. 18-19.

particularly dedicated to this goal. The fact that women were left out of mainstream male dominant sporting activities meant there was a gap in the market for writing aimed specifically at women. It became the goal of many women writers to alter this trend by providing a view of women's sports that was outside that of the traditional assumptions of what women wanted from sport and they did so by producing writing by women for women. An article in *The Woman Journalist* in 1913 advocated this role in its praise of the journal *The Hockey Field* and celebrates the reasons for its success.

There are to-day publications devoted entirely to one especial game as played by women, and to run these profitably and accurately, and to ensure their success, women only should be employed as editors, staff, contributors. Where men have rushed into this obviously women's department failure has been the inevitable result. *The Hockey Field* is an instance of a sports journal which from the first has been owned and managed entirely by a woman and is an unqualified success in every respect.⁶²

It made the reader aware that sports writing aimed specifically at women was a profitable and serious pursuit and that women were the ones who should be writing on it.⁶³ Such journals often allowed a more favourable entry for the female sporting voice than the newspapers. Though the goals of the later women writers began to change, they still aimed to amend the relegated position of women in sport. Some still followed the format of instructional texts containing the same goals and aims, but others like Kahn, Mair and Heyhoe again, tended to use their expression to legitimise the role of women in sport in other ways. In texts like, *Fair Play: The Story of Women's Cricket* (1976), *The Woman Golfer: A Lifetime of Golfing Success* (1988), *One Hundred Years of Women's Golf* (1992), and *The LPGA: The Unauthorized Version - The History of the Ladies Professional Golf* (1996), they reclaim the historical evidence of women's participation and success in sport. Mair and others also profiled individual achievements of sports women in texts such as *Laura Davies Naturally.... With Lewine Mair* (1996) to present the image of the sporting woman. Mott uses her book, *A Girl's Guide to Ball Games: What Men Need to Know* (1996) as a mouthpiece to dispel the myths about women's achievement in sports and their overall contribution to sports. All the examples, whether conscious or not, served to deconstruct the myths of women's non-participation and lack of capability in sport.

⁶² Stringer, M.E. (1913). Women as Sports Journalists. *The Woman Journalist*. No.18, Nov. p. 2.

As well as reclaiming lives to readjust the perspective of women in sport, the work in the alternative canon also offers the potential to use other styles, like fiction and poetry. From this position women writers were able to contemplate the missing role of women and the imagination of fictional writing assisted them in their exploration. For example *Runners and Riders*, a collection of writings on Racing, contains 103 articles with only five pieces by women. While this demonstrates the lack of power in the female voice, the inclusions here show the importance of different areas and styles in this collection. Their input ranged from a poem called 'Lord Hippo' to 'You won't get far on this one', and an extract from the *National Velvet*. The poem shows how non-sporting language can be used to allow women to review and comment on sports. The second shows how fiction can imagine women in sporting situations they would be prevented from in reality. The editor introduces the extract:

At least Velvet Brown was the first past the post, before being disqualified on a technicality of the 1930s rules: no lady jockeys in those days. *National Velvet* Enid Bagnold's tale (published in 1935) of how a young girl rides the winner of the Grand National on the piebald horse she has won in a raffle, is a perennial favourite, and the description of the race itself - in effect a non-description - is cleverly achieved by being experienced through the character of the stable-hand Mi Taylor.⁶⁴

Through this text the author is able to explore the myths that women were not able to compete in horse racing because of the assumptions of 'feminine' weakness and in its place present a fictional example, as fact, to show how success and women in sport can become a possibility.

The exploration of women in sports through fiction was also utilised in *Football Special*, a journal which was receptive to women's role in this domain. This weekly sports paper, was heavily devoted to football both men's and women's. An early edition in 1 Oct 1921 'Women and Football', tells how women were playing football in London pre the WWI boom, but faded because it was not encouraged. In the letters section of this edition submissions from readers debate the success of the first girl's football match. Other editions include team photos of women such as 'Benny Brewery Lasses' and 'Swindon Ladies FC', alongside the men's teams.⁶⁵ It promotes itself as 'The Live Paper for Players and Spectators' and

⁶³ Stringer, M.E. (1913). *Women as Sports Journalists*. p. 2.

⁶⁴ Magee, S. (1993). *Runners and Riders: An Anthology of Writing on Racing*. London: Methuen. p. 245.

⁶⁵ (1921). *Football Special*. 12 and 19 November. p. 8.

combines match information and reviews of matches with letters, humorous articles, cartoons, fiction tales of footballers, teams and fans. One example of a fictional story, was 'Bess of Blacktain' by Don Gray which ran from February to July 1922 and was described as 'a grand new series of complete stories' that surrounded a group of girls playing football from Hennekers Mill. This shows how the profile of women playing football had grown, but also how fiction assisted that image. The interest in women's football was growing in this paper with the column 'Football Girl' running from September 1921 until May 1922. The column was a regular feature with large headers proclaiming 'Girls' Footer Going Strong - Keen Spirit Everywhere - Teams Springing up like Mushrooms' and was stated as being 'Exclusive to Football Special by The Football Girl.'⁶⁶ It is significant to note that the column's short life coincided with the decision to ban women from playing on FA affiliated pitches, a matter which was the result of a unanimous FA resolution passed on December 5 1921. A column in the 20 May 1922 edition concentrates on the ban and the difficulties for the survival of women's football without access to these grounds. It asks 'Girls and the FA ban - What will happen if it is removed?'. The following week contains the last column by The Football Girl. The only continued evidence of women as sporting objects in this journal onwards was in fiction with 'Nell of Newcastle' appearing in May 1922, following on from the original Bess of Blacktain.

Helme, a prolific writer of stories for children, often used her tales to interest boys and girls in golf. Her book *Family Golf* (1938) centres around a golfing family and it uses fiction to reach children, rather than the often heavy-going instructional texts, which tend to explain the practice but not the drama and excitement of playing golf. In this way Helme shows her aptitude for communicating on a different level. Wethered describes the text in her foreword as 'so naturally and charmingly told' that it will absorb 'young readers', being an entertaining fictional tale as well as 'a mine of valuable information for those who have an early ambition to play golf really well.'⁶⁷ This illustrates how useful the alternative vehicles could be. By showing how sports could be a valid part of their lives Helme is challenging the traditional construction of gender roles.

⁶⁶ (1921). *Football Special*. September 10. p. 4.

⁶⁷ Helme, E.E. (1938). *Family Golf*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons.

The women's sporting journals contained writing which did not fit the 'masculine' establishment in the definition of sports, particularly in the early part of the century when the notion of sporting competition was less developed. For example, from a conventional perspective *The Sportswoman: An Album of Fashion, Sport and Travel: The Official Organ of the Ladies Kennel Association* was aimed at the middle-upper class women, with the time and money to pursue leisure pursuits. Yet there is evidence that these women still wanted to explore sporting activities which were not considered suitable for women. In 'Why Women Love Sport' (1908) the writer focused on 'field' sports and advocates them for women as a legitimate pursuit on the same basis as fashion and travel. It describes how their feelings are founded on the same pleasures as men and how this is now the 'age of the sportswoman' but not by sufferance.⁶⁸ There was evidence that this journal questioned the 'masculine' identity of established sports. One article in a section entitled 'Diana's Notebook' asks 'Is Hunting Male or Effeminate?'.⁶⁹ She quotes the Duke of Newcastle from the Seventeenth Century, who stated that hawking and hunting as 'pursuits too effeminate for his consideration', while in her time they are not deemed appropriate for women. She also adds in his era 'women took little or no part in the chase', although they were known to follow hawking, 'hunting' was not 'effeminate' at all in the 'usual sense of the word' and was 'becoming more and more favoured by the fair sex'.⁷⁰ These comments are significant for several reasons. They denote how the definition of 'sport' altered in society throughout the years, but continued to illustrate how traditionally any reference to sporting subjects were generally assumed to be 'masculine' pursuits. Her argument is that the conditions of the sport did not change; it was the interpretations and perceptions that effected its identification as a gendered sport and it is this factor which demonstrates how the image of the sexes alters over time.

The strongest common goal of the women sports writers studied was to address the marginalisation of women in sport. They did this by using the space beyond the sports pages

⁶⁸ Fairfax Blakeborough. J. (1908). Why Women Love Sport. *The Sportswoman: An Album of Fashion, Sport and Travel: The Official Organ of the Ladies Kennel Association*. Vol 1. 1. p. 8.

⁶⁹ (1908). *The Sportswoman: An Album of Fashion, Sport and Travel: The Official Organ of the Ladies Kennel Association*. Vol 1. No. 3. p. 13.

to profile women's sports and events, and validate the position of women as sporting beings. Often these sporting journals gave women a place to raise their dissent about the rejection of women's sport in the press and where this did not bring change, they used their own publications to keep the presence and reality of women's sport alive. For example, Pollard utilised her journals to challenge the male dominance of the sports pages. She writes in one edition of *Women's Cricket* that the *Telegraph* had refused to put in news of women's sports.⁷¹ She raises the subject again in the next edition in a section entitled 'The Papers' stating:

By general consent there seems to have been a great lack of knowledge as to what is going on, and several people have written to me(albeit rather bitterly) 'Why don't you put women's cricket news in the *Telegraph*. The answer to that is simple because the *Telegraph* said quite firmly at the beginning of the season that they would not be publishing either news or results. If only 500 women players would take pen and paper and write to the editor of any newspaper and say 'why doesn't your paper print news of women's cricket? Something would be done.'⁷²

This rejection of their exploits is an example of how difficult it would have been for a writer like Pollard to get her work published in the newspaper. When a sport is ignored by the press it can easily disappear from popular consciousness as the process of coverage confirms its existence. It also explains the drive behind her dedication to keep her journals for women on cricket and hockey going despite the severe financial constraints.

Women's sporting journals were also a place where women could discuss the problems they had in the sporting press. In Pollard's journal *Women's Cricket* it was an issue she clearly felt strongly about. Her editorial in the June 1936 edition titled 'Again the Press' speaks of her attempts to get clubs to appoint press representatives to get women's sport more accurately reported and in some cases covered at all. She states her desire 'to bridge the gulf' between the true reality of women's sports and the presumed lack of existence in the newspapers, which she argues 'will yawn and yawn until we so do something definite about it'.⁷³ Pollard saw the power to change this veil of invisibility, which surrounded women's sport, as being held by women themselves, by writing to the newspapers offering the information and hence

⁷⁰ (1908). *The Sportswoman. An Album of Fashion, Sport and Travel*. Ibid. p. 13.

⁷¹ (1939). *Women's Cricket*. June.

⁷² (1938). *Women's Cricket*. July.

⁷³ (1936). *Women's Cricket*. June.

giving proof of their existence. She believed the newspapers would eventually find them too difficult to ignore. In a later edition she suggests readers 'bombard the local press with brightly written news of what is to happen and what has happened'.⁷⁴ Her actions were to attempt to change how the newspapers cover women sports.

But this was an issue that Heyhoe-Flint was still dealing with many decades later, and one she also tried to influence through her work with the *Daily Telegraph*. She describes her efforts as a 'constant if good-natured battle to win more space for women's hockey and cricket'.⁷⁵ Her argument against the Telegraph was that

I often complained that my report on the Wembley women's hockey international, watched by 60,000 people at the stadium and millions more on television, is granted less space than an account of a men's club match which might have been watched by a dozen people and a few dogs.⁷⁶

The absurdity of such situations shows the extent of the prejudice against women's sport and the battle they faced to alter this view. The validity of men's sports were not upheld to such close scrutiny. But it would take writers, like Heyhoe and Pollard to use their own power of expression to effect and inspire the necessary changes.

While the aim to enhance the coverage of women's sports was not always successful in traditional newspaper sections, Pollard fought against this with her own journals to act as replacement sports pages for women. The journal includes 'match reports', 'fixture lists', and 'issues in the sport' and technical practice/instructions.⁷⁷ This outlet, in addition to the amount of sports writing which was found on the 'women's' page, served to re-create the sports pages for women and work from the exterior to raise and validate their position. Their expulsion may have been through a process of relegation, but collectively it still fulfilled a valuable function for the female voice.

Women's sporting journals were often assisted by women's organisations determined to recognise the existence of a female sporting public. Leitch notes the dedication of the

⁷⁴ (1937). *Women's Cricket*. September.

⁷⁵ Heyhoe-Flint, R. (1978). *Heyhoe!* p. 150.

⁷⁶ Heyhoe-Flint, R. (1978). *Ibid.* p. 150.

journal *Ladies Field* in one of her columns for the sporting newspaper *The Referee*, of its influence in starting the trend in women's golf foursomes through its sponsored competitions.⁷⁸ This shows its support in promoting and holding events for women where they could demonstrate their ability, as well as being a vehicle to write about the result, thus creating its own news. Leitch notes in her book *Golf* (1922) the importance of the *Ladies Field* and its serious intent towards golf reporting, explaining to the reader its account of her winning the Ladies Open Championship in 1914, including a full match report.⁷⁹ In this way it operates as an alternative sports section to the types of items usually found in national newspapers on men's sport. The evidence from the *Observer* search as detailed in Appendix 7.1, shows the papers were mainly focused on male sports. But finding their voices 'outside' did not mean women were totally silenced. These journals show they simply found other places to ensure the truth of women in sports was accurately recorded.

The desire to operate as a sporting record was evident from the earliest part of the century where specialist sporting journals aimed specifically at women such as *The Sportswoman: An Album of Fashion, Sport and Travel: The Official Organ of the Ladies Kennel Association* (1908), *The Sportswoman: A monthly record of Sport and Athletics for Women. Official Organ of the College and Schools of the United Kingdom* (1920/1921), *The Sportswoman* (1933), were produced with the intention of being a record for the coverage of their sporting lives.⁸⁰ The interesting aspect is the wider connotations associated with three different journals all calling themselves 'The Sportswoman'. The conception of 'sportswoman', was clearly problematic at this time. The first was the organ of the kennel club and showed the flexibility towards the definition of 'sport'. The second journal is most definitely a record of direct physical activity, it is dedicated to focus on and reports as much as possible the results and fixtures and division tables of women's sporting events. It attempts to include everything from school match reports to reviews of visiting American Hockey teams and incorporated fixtures, results and summary reports for netball, lacrosse, golf, tennis and squash. While

⁷⁷ (1931). *Women's Cricket*. June. p.29

⁷⁸ (1923). *The Referee*. 4 March.

⁷⁹ Leitch, C. (1922). *Golf*. London: Thornton Butterworth. p. 51. It is significant to note *Ladies Field* was being run by a women at the time, Lillian Arnold.

the third associates sport with upper class leisure and social pursuits. It was not until the last few editions that it focused on sport for women in playing terms. The perspective 'sport' and women's role these types of journals is a variable factor, however they do provide room for a record of women's participation, whatever their interpretation.

The content of *The Sportswoman: A monthly record* (1920) seeks to claim a place in public life for women, by presenting coverage of women's sport that substantiates their interest and expertise. In the inclusion of articles on careers for women in certain editions, the journal operates by showing the legitimacy of their claim for a public sphere role.⁸¹ The similarities in the promotion of a career and a place in sport, both traditional 'masculine' domains, is evidence of its intention to encourage women to redefine their ambitions, a perspective which is solidified by its record of their participation in sport. The editorial of the first edition in October 1920 notes its goals and determinations:

To make the paper a really authentic record of the achievements of women and girls in the world of sport.⁸²

The editor states the purpose is to give 'prominence to the sporting side of women's life which the Press has hitherto failed to give'.⁸³ The editor is scathing about the current coverage in newspapers complaining that their successes in the athletic world consist of only a 'few scattered accounts' or a 'cursory paragraph' and 'at best, a short article tucked away in some unobtrusive corner of a weekly journal'.⁸⁴ This common theme to contest the discrimination of the sports pages from the periphery was as valuable as the reconstruction of sports for women.

One example of the role it had in serving as a record of women's sports can be seen in a letter from a male reader. He opens his letter by advising the reader he was on a train where two men were debating the journal and its necessity. He quotes one of the men's opinion

⁸⁰ Note the selection of journals examined which share this title *The Sportswoman* were the complete collection as listed in The British Newspaper Library catalogue.

⁸¹ (1920). *The Sportswoman: A monthly record*. No 4.

⁸² (1920). Editorial 'Coming on the Field'. *The Sportswoman: A monthly record* No1. 7 October. p. 1.

⁸³ (1920). Editorial 'Coming on the Field'. Ibid. p. 1.

⁸⁴ (1920). Editorial 'Coming on the Field'. *The Sportswoman: A monthly record* No1. 7 October. p. 1.

who was questioning why women should not have an 'organ to record their doings', while the other men replied they did not need one because the newspapers 'publishes accounts of women's sports which are of any consequence' believing that 'there is not sufficient interesting matter' to 'justify' their own paper.⁸⁵ The exposure of this type of feeling towards women mirrors the problems which cause their relegated coverage in the newspapers and create the need for such journals. The belief that if women's sport existed that it would be covered in the newspapers was one of the major reasons for their relegated position in sport and was the primary value of such journals in communicating the image of sportswoman and presenting them as the norm, while amending the lack of coverage on women's sport.

The other similarly named journal *The Sportswoman* (1933), had the same goal - to authenticate women's position in sport through a record which would celebrate their achievements. Once again the target reader is not working class women, but those with the time and money to enjoy sports, yet the focus here is more on the physical pursuits rather than social pastimes. The first front cover is colourfully drawn and shows a woman smiling and enjoying playing tennis. She is in motion and her eyes are focused on the ball, although her lips are heavily coloured and her hair groomed. Despite the adherence to 'feminine' representation, its primary concern is to be 'the only national Journal exclusively devoted to all women's sports'. The registration editorial, identifies the same goals as the previous journal in fulfilling the demand by women to have a vehicle to record their sporting activities. It states

it has long been wanted, and now arrives to supply a need which at least half the population of the civilised world is eager to see satisfied.⁸⁶

The editor also discusses the confidence with which this journal is desired by women in society and this implies the strength of opinion among the creators of these types of journals to satisfy a need that they perceive is being neglected. This, the first editorial, describes how women have 'invaded practically all the fields of Sport' previously only thought available to men and in doing so they have 'laid aside' some of the assumed 'vaunted Victorian

⁸⁵ (1921). Correspondence - 'Why Not?' By a Mere Man. *The Sportswoman A Monthly Record*. 15 February.

⁸⁶ (1933). *The Sportswoman* no. 1. May. p. 1.

femininity', an act the editor does not see as a bad prospect.⁸⁷ It uses the power of expression to break down the restrictions that still confine women in the construction of the traditional sporting voice.

The goal to an established female discourse in sport was certainly evident in the collective analysis of Pollard's journals, *Women's Cricket* and *Women's Hockey* (1930s). The dedication she underwent to keep these vehicles of women's sports going, despite the financial difficulties in self-publishing a journal of this type, illustrates her commitment to the accurate recording of women's sports. In one editorial she notes her concerns for the fact the circulation had not increased as she had hoped, yet she manages to keep them going for many more years.⁸⁸ Both publications are dedicated to offering a way for sports women to communicate. They offer a space for reader's letters, which give information on supporting organisations and clubs which are looking for new players. She also uses successful sports women to speak and give advice to readers. By profiling the accomplishments of other women in articles, through contributors such as Mable Bryant, with her unique 'record in International Hockey' and Miss TJ Lingwood, who Pollard identifies both in one editorial as 'famous wing players', their inclusion shows women can be serious and prosperous sports women.⁸⁹ She also encourages her readers to aim high, since these examples in *Women's Hockey* do not present the sport as a gentle leisure pursuit, but as a competitive sport with the possibilities to aspire to the highest ranks of the national team. It consolidates this position with other messages of sport as a normal act for women and their progress in finding space in this area in more subtle means, such as the inclusion of an advertisement for *Wisden's Cricketer's Almanack* and its reference to women's cricket for the first time in 1938.⁹⁰ Her journals are committed to the normalisation of women's role in sport through the communication of the acceptance of the sports woman by the sporting world.

Periodicals like *Girl's Own Paper* in the 1940s had a distinct sporting content to encourage the reader to realise their rights of sporting pursuits: even the fashion is often dedicated to

⁸⁷ (1933). *The Sportswoman* no. 1. May. p. 1.

⁸⁸ (1935). *Women's Cricket*. May.

⁸⁹ (1934). *Women's Hockey*. December.

sports with the fashion article in this edition 'knit this Sport Bolero!'.⁹¹ This periodical is described as appealing to 'girls of all ages' with its focus on 'Sport, News, Hobbies, Stories, Excitement'.⁹² It regularly featured sports-related articles to present the normalised image of women in sport, such as 'Keep Fit and Play Tennis'. It begins with the statement that 'it is everyone's duty to try and keep as fit as possible', although having access to the necessary equipment would restrict many working class girls.⁹³ Its front covers were regularly colourful cartoon drawings of young pre-teen, early teenage girls, in action poses. They are shown playing sports and smiling, generally indicating their enjoyment of the experience. The non-sporting articles all contain a sense of adventure and a broad perspective on life, with fictional stories such as 'Island of Adventure' or articles on 'Christmas in other Lands'.⁹⁴ The characters in the fictional tales are active not static; they seek out new experiences and are interested in knowing things outside their own realm of knowledge. These are clear signs it offered readers a paper that wanted to broaden their experiences and presents new challenges.

Providing an area to operate as the sports pages for women was only one benefit of the alternative canon; as in newspapers, it also gave space for the discussion of sporting issues for women. One of the major aspects responsible for the positioning of women's writing outside of the sports pages was the representation in society that they were not sporting objects, nor did they participate in sport. The biggest problem in counteracting the image of non-participation on the sports pages was a lack of role models. A common theme in the goal of the early women writers was to fill in the gaps by providing accounts of their own experience as sports women. Many of the sports books studied were 'instructional' texts, an extension of their sporting lives, which offered the readers a type of coaching they may not have had access to in other areas of their lives. This type of writing coincided with the drive for girls increase in fitness as seen in the 1940's, where the health of the work force and women's growing role in that during the war became so important, as discussed in Chapter

⁹⁰ (1938). *Women's Cricket*. May. p. 36.

⁹¹ (1940). *Girl's Own Paper*. July. p. 5.

⁹² (1939). *Women's Cricket*. May.

⁹³ Burgess. E.M. R. (1940). 'Keep Fit and Play Tennis' *Girl's Own Paper*. August. pp 471-473

⁹⁴ (1940). *Girl's Own Paper*. January.

Two. These writers acted as role models and encouraged the readers to have a go at sports they may not have previously thought suitable. Many of these early texts featured the writers themselves with photographs demonstrating the skilful techniques, to illustrate to the physical capabilities of women.

Pollard once again is one of the key writers with her abundance of instructional texts and sporting journals. All of her life's work in writing was dedicated to getting women playing not only for pleasure but to embrace its potential as a serious professional pursuit. Her journals *Women's Cricket and Women's Hockey* and her numerous books like, *Women's Hockey* (1926), *Hockey for Women* (1934), *Hockey: How to Succeed* (1934), *Cricket for Women and Girls* (1934), *Hockey for All* (1957), and *Your Books of Hockey* (1959) are all forms of coaching texts.⁹⁵ The interesting linguistics in the titles are in the use of the words 'all' and 'your'. The purpose of 'all' is not a non-gendered basis, but in that it relates to women of all ages and the 'your' is interesting that as a later text it is encouraging women to claim the sport for themselves. She states in one introductory chapter entitled 'A Statement of Facts' that women and girls are playing sports and it is for this player she is writing.⁹⁶ Her intention here is to challenge the image of non-participation with a simple statement

'that we - women and girls- are playing cricket'.... 'the instinct for play which is surely as insistent in girls as it is in boys, has been developed and given room and occasion for expressing itself'⁹⁷

Her work presents this occasion for expression and illustrates her unequivocal desire for women to empower themselves by playing sport. In another text she advises the reader, 'so I would say to you, be ambitious, learn all you can wherever you can and then translate that knowledge into skill'.⁹⁸ Her words here illustrate the fact she is aware that knowledge is power, and the more women she can encourage to play the more power and recognition for women in sport.

⁹⁵ The Instructional texts all have the tendency to separate themselves off as sport for 'women', in a similar way the 'women's page' is forced to define its audience. The gender separation is necessary for these texts as the level of socialisation for men and women in sport differed greatly in the first half of the century. Like the women's page, this classification can highlight the gendered nature of sport, but it can also function as an independent arena to address their aims.

⁹⁶ Pollard, M. (1934). *Cricket*. p.13.

⁹⁷ Pollard, M. (1934). *Ibid*. p.13.

⁹⁸ Pollard, M. (1959). *Your Book of Hockey*. London: Faber and Faber, p.11.

The focus on coaching skills for the readers, was the primary aim of these instructional texts to improve their skills and play. This was apparent in Helme, *The Lady Golfer's Tip Book* (1923), Leitch, *Golf for Girls* (1911) and Wilson, *So that's what I do!* (1935). All the texts are constructed with chapters which review techniques and practicalities of playing golf. Leitch offers such practical advice and tips as 'Equipment of the Games' and 'Playing the Wind and other Difficulties'.⁹⁹ Helme, also sticks to the practical aspects looking at tactics of play and shot selection, her aim is to answer the questions which she often hears golfers speak about.¹⁰⁰ Wilson's objective is to improve the reader's playing skills by pointing out specific styles of play for the reader to observe and learn. Observation is an important part of these books, with all the authors using illustrations to support their words to the reader. Helme uses pictures of actual women golfers playing a particular shot, while Leitch utilises photographs of herself demonstrating positions and styles of play.¹⁰¹ As players themselves, they use their skills and abilities to communicate to the reader the normality of a woman playing and taking golf seriously.

Heyhoe-Flint, *Just For Kicks: A Guide to Hockey Goalkeeping* (1966) Wilson, *Golf for Women* (1964), and Leitch *Golf Simplified* (1942) also aim to educate and inform to attract more women to the game. Heyhoe-Flint notes she was inspired to write her book *Just For Kicks: A Guide to Hockey Goalkeeping* (1966) by those wanting to learn the game after on a coaching trip to America she realised how she could help others without imposing an oppressive view.¹⁰² She concentrates on the issues of play and decision making specific to her own position, the goalkeeper, and shows her determination to improve the player, with chapters on whether or not to give away corners and when to stop a shot. Wilson explains she recognises there is a need for 'instructional literature for women golfers' and it is the aim of her and the other authors' writing to provide this in a readable manner for women.¹⁰³ She takes the reader who wants to be a golfer right back to the beginning with a chapter to instruct women on how to select and care for their clubs and equipment, so the reader has

⁹⁹ Leitch, C. (1911). *Golf for Girls*. London: George Newnes, p. Contents page.

¹⁰⁰ Helme, E. E. (1923). *The Lady Golfer's Tip Book*. London: Mills & Boon, pp. 9 - 10.

¹⁰¹ The reader is obviously assumed to be another women, largely because of the title, which is reinforced by the form of address as 'She' and the manner in which the narrative is written from is a personal point of view on the tips she offers.

¹⁰² Heyhoe, R. (1966). *Just for Kicks*. p. i-ii.

the most basic knowledge necessary to play. She also reviews the fundamental factors of the game in displaying to the reader how to hold the club and how the club is intended to function. She writes sections of the basics of play on the assumption that readers have no experience of the game and seeks to encourage more women to play by presenting the information in intelligible sections. Leitch presents her chapters in a gender-specific way with sections like, 'General Advice to Lady players', giving hints and tips in areas they may find are unique to a woman player. All have the same goal, by using their individual expertise to offer the reader, help, encouragement and inspiration in ways that are specific to a woman in sport.

Wethered, like Heyhoe-Flint, Wilson and Leitch was also a great sports woman. Her text *Golfing Memories and Methods* (1933), is a clear demonstration of how her own personal golfing experiences are utilised as her main vehicle of communication to the reader. As the title suggests, she educates readers by proving her own expertise. This is reflected in her chapter titles, covering such aspects as 'The Golfing Habit', to 'Early Days', 'Princes, Sandwich, Toon.' and practical instruction: 'Technical Golf - How Should we Learn Our Golf? to 'Wood club play'. In addition other sections reviewed issues and subjects in the game as a whole, for example, 'Other Golf' which included 'How Ladies Golf has Progressed'.¹⁰⁴ She uses a combination of memories and instruction, but the inclusion of herself is only to explain her talent for golf and thus justify her instruction. Leitch is subject to the same sort of cross between instructional and autobiographical in *Golf* (1922).¹⁰⁵ The opening chapters speak of her childhood relationship to golf and 'A Chapter for Beginners - The Elements of the Game', was the only other chapter with personal emphasis, but solely to remind the reader that the book is based on advice from her own experiences. This balance in styles, although providing some biographical detail, is reflective of the sportswomen's talent as the basis of its beginnings rather than personal insight. The goal of the text is to use their expertise to assist the reader and tell enough about themselves to justify their right to do so, it also serves as a message of encouragement by showing how they themselves got involved in the game.

¹⁰³ Wilson, E. (1964). *Golf for Women*. p. 10.

¹⁰⁴ Wethered, J. (1933). *Golfing Memories and Methods*. pp. 11-2.

¹⁰⁵ Leitch, C. (1922). *Golf*.

The aims of all these early writers was to assure the reader the confidence to move beyond the feminine myths of non-participation. They use their expertise to break the taboo which sets their own limitations in getting their work heard and seen. The contemporary writers also have the same goals, Mott in *A Girl's Guide to Ball Games: What Men Need to Know* (1996) aims to put the record straight on women's participation in sport by showing how their achievements have been prevented. She holds 'men' responsible for this situation' as the title suggests it is the re-education and re-positioning of gender that will free them. She aligns 'girls' as the active participant and 'men' as the 'other' in an attempt to indicate how male dominant sporting ideologies are responsible for the attitudes and perceptions that restrict them and not their actual ability that has developed regardless. Such a contemporary work recognises how the removal of women in sport is often a image and not the reality of their lives.

The evidence also indicates another common theme was to give value to the achievements of sports women, either by giving sporting heroines a voice, or writing pieces which reclaimed their past lives. These particular texts are important to women's history in offering a voice to women who usually lacked one, by recording the life experiences of other women to whose life they give value. This process is of supplying historical and personal merit to women who had been ignored and would have remained hidden from record. Ironically many of the women studied as writers in this research, had no autobiographies or biographical record for this research, leaving the only knowledge of them from the output of physical working evidence they left behind. This realignment of the sporting narrative can also serve to dispute what was presumed to be the conventional account of women's capabilities. The act of helping such women to record their achievements in the form of biographies, or texts and articles which gathered a record and an opportunity to present the evidence of their success to re-positions the influential women back into the development of sports history, in a way which allows the reader to explore, understand and relate to them.

The recovery of women's place in sport and other traditional male domains, like war, is the main point of the earliest articles found in the periodical search. 'Women in Sport and War:

Four Generations of Change' (1935) was contained in *Field*, a journal which focused on country sporting issues in the manner of royalty, countrymen and the sportsman, including lawn tennis, cricket and horse riding and looks at

the changes in women's participation in sport - the revolution that has occurred in consequence in their chess, their new status, and certain marked changes between the social life of the days of the previous reigns and the opening years of the new reigns and the present day.¹⁰⁶

The author claims women's suitability for sports by saying 'lawn tennis and the safety bicycle have contributed more to the happiness of women and to the freedom of language and limb'.¹⁰⁷ By showing how women can enjoy their participation of sports, she is attempting to dispel other derogatory image as impassive objects in sporting matters. She uses a historical perspective to validate women in sport and describes their involvement 'in spite of all the drawbacks and difficulties' and profiles the success of the past and her vision of the future for the place of women in sport. Her detailing of the obstacles they have faced and how they have overcome them, is utilised to position the women of the present on a more stable level.

The fundamental characteristic of biography is to presents the participation of women as 'normal' and acceptable. By allowing the subject's personal voice to speak through the text the author empowered them. In both *Carefree Golf* (1991) and *Laura Davies Naturally* (1996) the author, Mair, writes the text as if Davies speaks directly to the reader about her life and offers instructional advice. Mair reinforces Davies' value by stressing her practical abilities and showing how they can assist the reader. The book ranges from the 'Early Years' to 'Iron Play and 'Trouble Shots' and the introduction is the only time Mair speaks in her own voice. In *Laura Davies Naturally*, she makes even less of an intrusion, only speaking when she feels she needs to expand on Davies words, and only then when she thinks Davies is being unfair on herself by being too modest.¹⁰⁸ The importance of writing is seen again in *The Woman Golfer: A Lifetime of Golfing*. Belle Robertson and Lewine Mair (1989). The title conveys the sense that she is not writing a static biography, dominated by her own interpretation, but that she is recreating the subject's life. In this book her approach is a combination of Robertson

¹⁰⁶ Londonderry, Marchioness of. (1935). Women in Sport and War: Four Generations of Change. *Field*. 4 May. pp. 1022-24.

¹⁰⁷ Londonderry, Marchioness of. (1935). Women in Sport and War. pp. 1022-24.

¹⁰⁸ Mair, L. (1996). *Laura Davies Naturally.... With Lewine Mair*. London: Bloomsbury. p. 7.

telling her story 'a Backwards Glance', 'Spreading my Wings', 'Good Basics', 'Golf at Fifty' and giving some tips, including some personal and professional photos. The interesting aspect of this biography is the way in which Mair includes sections from Robertson offering advice and personal words of wisdom like 'Pressure', 'A Moment's thought'. This makes it a combination of instructional and biography, as though she wishes not only to pass on her experiences, but also her expertise for other's enjoyment of the game. When writing this type of biography/autobiography combination Mair is non-intrusive, always writing with the permission and input of her subject to convey a sense of respect for their lives and achievements.

Much of Mair's writing reclaims past players and their experiences, whether through their own voices or her own tribute to them. In *The Dunlop Lady Golfers Companion* (1980), Cotton notes in the foreword that 'she brings many of the great players to life'.¹⁰⁹ Wilson's approach is similar in *A Gallery of Women Golfers* (1961), where like Cotton, male golfer Darwin, states 'we gain a general impression of women golfers as a band of good and friendly companions, with their own little jokes and stories'.¹¹⁰ The authors build up the personality of their subjects and gives the women animation as real people, by offering insight into their humour, and the retelling of their seemingly insignificant stories. As both are compiled texts aiming to record the lives of a collection of women, the authors are not simply recording their lives as a series of professional achievements, but ensuring a glimpse of the lives of these women as individual people. Wilson describes her goal to give an overview of women's golf in the hope of capturing the interest of the next generation of women golfers and to make them aware of the 'debt' they owe to the 'pioneers' of the game.¹¹¹

This was also the aim of Pollard in writing *Hilda M Light: Her Life and Times: A tribute by Her Hockey Friends* (1972) and Besford in her *Encyclopaedia of Swimming* (1962). While Pollard recovers a life whose feats might otherwise have gone unnoticed, Besford records the lives and achievements of a whole minority sport. Her book brings together 'the many

¹⁰⁹ Mair, L. (1980). *The Dunlop Lady Golfer's Companion*.

¹¹⁰ Wilson, E. (1961). *A Gallery of Women Golfers*. p.7.

¹¹¹ Wilson, E. (1961). *A Gallery*. p.9.

facets that make up the sport of swimming' because of her 'fascination for the people and their achievements'.¹¹² Pollard's text celebrates a personal achievement in its 'tribute' to Light and the use of the word 'friends' suggests a special, intimate and personalised tone of the text. Published by the All England Women's Hockey Association, the evidence of the publisher notes how important it is to have women who were crucial to the sport recognised. The introduction by Doris Crisp, President, All England Women's Hockey Association, states Light was 'an outstanding figure in women's hockey' and a 'worthy' woman, so recording her life is vital to understanding the development of the women's game. Crisp notes that after receiving many tributes when Light died, the executive committee decided it would 'place on record its own appreciation of and gratitude for the achievements of this remarkable women.'¹¹³ In each instance, the subject or subjects, are all given value simply by the fact the text is about them and thus the confirms their individual worth.

Kahn's, *The LPGA: The Unauthorized Version - The History of the Ladies Professional Golf Association* (1996), is one of the best examples of reclaiming the achievements of sports women. It allows the female subjects their own input, in order to give the reader a historical insight which is enhanced by their desires, fears, celebrations and hardships. This style is important primarily for using the biographies of the 50 women to create a collective view of the history of their sport. The recording of how a championship was won does not always tell of the problems the players faced in getting there. Even those knowledgeable of the women's game, could not be assumed to know the inner women. Rawlins states that she learned more from reading about them than she ever did playing with them. This type of statement shows the personalities in the women's game were not particularly well known, and their lives had not previously been valued to the extent they were recorded and looked into for the greater public interest. In this way Kahn is reclaiming the lost experiences, and lives of those who did seek to play golf at a professional level, which would have been in direct contrast to the message women in larger society were getting at the time that competitive sports were not possible for them. Kahn speaks of her subjects and their freedom to discuss

¹¹² Besford, P. (1971). *Encyclopaedia of Swimming*. London: Robert Hale. p. Unnumbered Introduction page

¹¹³ Pollard, M. (Ed.). (1972). *Hilda M. Light*. p.11.

everything from 'public prejudice' to personal fears' and even their sexuality and emotions on living outside the realms of the public sphere, the collision of the public and private sphere and their expectations.¹¹⁴ The need for such texts in sports writing can be seen, not only by their previous lack of existence, but also because by the reaction of the women in focus. The introduction indicates the pleasure by most of the subjects that 'finally someone was writing the real history of the LPGA'.¹¹⁵ This acceptance by them indicates the loss they felt at not being properly identified in their professional careers and the appreciation this work has given them in recognising their lives. Her motivation to learn more about these women, is demonstrated by her dedication 'to all the women of the LPGA - past, present and future'.¹¹⁶ The contents page reads like a register stating each woman's name in black and white - 'the first 45 years'. The 1950s', 'The 1960s' - in this way it values each woman and the record serves to celebrate and legitimate their presence.

The scarcity of historical coverage and the gap that Kahn is seeking to fill in her 20 year battle to research the LPGA, is the key aim of the book. This is emphasised in the inside cover blurb where the opening sentence notes the importance of the text for the women's history stating 'for the first time, the compelling story of the LPGA and its players is chronicled from the 1930s to the 1990s'.¹¹⁷ It is reinforced by comments from Betty Hicks of women's golf organisations, the WPGA and the LPGA, on the front cover which informs the reader 'you are holding in your hand the only comprehensive and accurate book on the history of women's professional golf ever published'.¹¹⁸ The fact such a large part of sporting history has never been explored before stresses the position of their relegation. The front and back covers illustrate small square strips of posed photo head shots of some of the subjects. This seeks to put forward the faces in the public eye that have been hidden and ensure that they receive maximum visibility, the author's way of ensuring these women will not be forgotten again.

¹¹⁴ Kahn, L. (1996). *The LPGA: The Unauthorised Version. The History of the Ladies Professional Golf Association*. Hampshire: AA Publishing. p. Inside Front Cover.

¹¹⁵ Kahn, L. (1996). Ibid. p. i.

¹¹⁶ Kahn, L. (1996). Ibid. p. Dedication page, unnumbered.

¹¹⁷ Kahn, L. (1996). Ibid. p. Inside Cover.

¹¹⁸ Kahn, L. (1996). Ibid. p. Front Cover.

The relegation of the female voice from the traditional areas of sports writing, has meant women writers were the victim of the wider association of women to sport. Where women's sport has traditionally only be accepted where they did not challenge the traditional male domination in the association of money, sport and power as 'masculine' traits and therefore leaving the female restricted to the 'feminine' safety of sport as a leisure pursuits only. This has meant the that were women challenge this relationship it has been excluded. Women's sports and the relegation of women's sports writing to the 'women's' page, magazines and supplements and alternative sports sections has upheld the assumption that women did not have a valid role in sport, neither as participants or communicators. For these reasons the female sporting expression was not found in the sports pages, but located in various 'other' areas. Yet this subjugation was not wholly negative. From the 'outside' they could raise awareness of women's sports, issues and events, that were traditionally not given space in the conventional section. In the areas of the alternative canon, a collective analysis indicates their writing presented sport to the reader in a manner which illustrates, not only the existence of a female sporting voice, but its power to celebrate the sportswomen and expose the traditional gendered assumptions of sport which relegated their work from the sports pages in the first place. By firmly placing women in the sporting areas as active participators and substantiating that status with a historical perspective, the aim was to reclaim a sports section for women, address their issues, and give value to their achievements by removing the concept of women as an anomaly in sport. Though the women writers have struggled to get their work recognised, in the same regard as the traditional sports writing by male contributors in the newspapers, the fact remains that the discovery of their work in other areas of the newspaper proves that they did write on sport, but that it was not valued in the same manner. It also shows that the lack of women writers in the conventional sports section did not mean they were not contributing on sporting subjects, but that their writing was in effect 'hidden'.

CHAPTER SIX:

A NEW STYLE - AN ALTERNATIVE CANON OF SPORTS WRITING.

If you want to do your bit to make your paper's sports pages interesting, remember two things: that sports reporting is about people and that there are other sports besides, soccer, rugby and cricket.¹

This chapter will analyse how the contributions of women sports writers which form the 'alternative canon', had the potential to broaden and enhanced the coverage of sports. It will consider the effect of women's socialisation outside of the public sphere and sporting knowledge and what this meant for them as writers. Did their lowly status in the profession also give women freedom from the traditional perspective of what is 'sport' and how it should be viewed and written about? As outsiders to the 'masculine' codes of behaviour did they bring a new viewpoint to the way sports were reported? The examples of writing uncovered in the course of this research can be examined for evidence of such trends in their work. While the location of women as 'outside' the sporting realm created numerous problems, it also gave them unique opportunities to provide a fresh perspective on its ideological assumptions, social positions and writing styles. As they entered a traditionally male dominated world they were empowered by contributing their viewpoint, one which had previously been excluded and unheard.² The first part of this chapter will examine whether an outside 'feminine' view did enhance the 'masculine' perspective of sports. While in the second part the evidence of the work from the alternative canon will be studied to see how this occurred in the writing studied here, specifically in the emergence of three major styles in their writing: a focus on the 'Human Interest', the 'Inside Story' and the 'Personal' perspectives and how these compared to the traditional sporting context.

In order to see how the transitions in sports writing and the relationship of women may have evolved, it is important to first establish the traits of the original format. Sports writing has commonly been seen to be represented by match reporting, usually covering male sport. The format of the conventional approach is reinforced by Harris, in *Practical Newspaper*

¹ Harris, G and Spark, D. (1966). *Practical Newspaper*. p. 283.

² All information from individual women writers in this chapter is from questionnaires and interviews, unless otherwise stated.

Reporting (1966), which focuses on match reporting and the players who had the ability to influence the game, as the key subject areas of sports writing.³ He notes this is 'simple reporting' but 'expressive of the game and the hopes and fears of the spectators'.⁴ His concept of sports writing had more to do with the tactics and practicalities of the game, than the surrounding drama which can add colour and life to a report. His recommendations are limited to coverage of direct physical action. Any contribution outside of this boundary, such as the technique of interviewing players, was only referred to as a new concept with the purpose of adding more information to the report. It was not seen as a valid aspect of sports writing in its own right.

Instead all the attention is placed on quickly digestible facts and clear description presented in match reports. This validation of one main style of writing limits itself to other possibilities; the acceptance of different styles has always found a troublesome path in an institution so resistant to change. Wilson notes in his autobiography, *The Man they couldn't Gag* (1977) that he left the *Times* because he realised that his concept of what made good sports writing and the newspaper's were different. He describes a match report he wrote on Lawn Tennis which centred on the 'drama rather than the technique of the match'.⁵ He states the newspaper did not like this approach and demanded more of the stroke play, the physical statistical aspect of the match. Longhurst also had his work sent back for too much colour, yet adding colour to their writing was a style women were being encouraged to adopt in sports writing back in the 1950 by Graham in her text *Journalism for Women*. Her advice was to write about players 'opinions, habits and clothes'.⁶ She saw the opportunities for women as offering new styles to the traditional coverage, but the experiences of well-established males, like Wilson and Longhurst, demonstrates that their moves away from the traditional format were not successful.

However, the potential Graham saw for women, lies in their positioning as Other and their exclusion in sporting institutions creates a situation where they were not socialised into a

³ Harris, G and Spark, D. (1966). *Practical Newspaper*. p. 278.

⁴ Harris, G and Spark, D. (1966). *Ibid*. p. 280.

⁵ Wilson, P. (1977). *The Man they couldn't Gag*. p. 26.

sporting relationship in the same way as their male colleagues. Stuart Allan argues in '(En)gendering the truth politics of news discourse' (1998) the interpretation of objectivity and what is truth are always tainted by the subjectivity of the journalist. He states "to recognise that even the 'purest fact' of news discourse is 'permeated with the interpretation of others is a crucial strategic advance'.⁷ In sports writing this means identifying that the truth of the traditional sports pages is engendered by the dominance of male journalists interpretation of 'what is sport?'. This mean that the addition of women sports writers perspective in the sports pages enhances its coverage by offering the opportunity of new styles of writing and new perceptions of the 'truth' of sports writing. As 'outsiders' Coddington argues women who did not have 'that early statistical induction had to find other ways of engaging with football'.⁸ This view is certainly consistent with the types of articles found in this study, with match reports only 2% of the overall style.⁹ Burton-Nelson also argues that women did have the tendency to approach sports writing from a different view. Her opinion was

they [female sport journalists] also seem likely to ask different- and perhaps better-questions. Many say they offer a human touch, less encumbered than men with statistics and a know-it-all stance.¹⁰

Does the fact that women were culturally restricted from sport mean that they were free from its ideologies and thus offered new views? Burton Nelson believes it did and states it was this fear of a new view and how it could change the male dominance of sports pages which was the reason why male sports editors did not hire women. She argues 'women might attend a sporting event and bring back a different story than a man would tell: a female perspective, a feminist perspective.'¹¹

Welch also believed that women offered the potential to see another view of sports writing.

She states,

men seem to get this obscure pleasure out of seeing who can get the highest, the longest, which women don't get to the same degree. Men like the impersonality of

⁶ Graham, M. (1949). *Journalism*. p. 75.

⁷ Allan, S. (1998). (En)gendering the Truth of Politics of News Discourse. *News, Gender and Power*. In Carter, C. et al. (Eds). *News, Gender and Power*. London: Routledge.

⁸ Coddington, A. (1997). *One of the Lads*. p. 185.

⁹ See Table 1.

¹⁰ Burton Nelson, M. (1994). *The Stronger Women Get. The More Men Love Football: Sexism and the Culture of Sport*. London: The Women's Press. p.88.

¹¹ Burton Nelson, M. (1994). *Ibid*.p.66.

numbers, measuring things. I suppose if you have a penis you've always got something to measure. Women don't have that. Women like to look at tactics and what shape the team plays in: is it the diamond formation, is there one lonely bloke up front, is it a Christmas tree? We like the whole body.¹²

Her argument is that the perspective of men and women can be seen in the distinctions of gender difference. She suggests that women look for a personal aspect to the practical technicalities of sport where as men do not. This is consistent with the proposal that, as 'outsiders', females have not been educated into 'sports' in the same manner, whereas by the male has been conditioned into the codes of playing, understanding and hence following sports.

There is, however, evidence that the 'outsider' perspective did eventually find a way into mainstream sports writing in the 1990s. The position of the 'outsider', was acknowledged by Glanville who comments about a new kind of writing in the 1990s by male authors like Nick Hornby, an intellectual writer who brings a personal depth to his writing. Referring to this approach he says 'I think it's valid to write about soccer from the outside as from the inside'.¹³ His validation of the 'outsider', albeit done only when discussing a male writer, is a significant sign of the value of fresh perspectives.

However classifying all women as 'outsiders' and arguing they will have another view is a dangerous generalisation, for men and women writers. There is no gendered certainty in sports writing, although these arguments were based on the collective experiences of women over a period of time, there will always be exceptions. Like Hornby, some male writers have written as outsiders. Watkins noted in his autobiography that the newspaper had intended his work to reflect the "intelligent punter" the man at home in front of the television set'.¹⁴ A description which represents the non-player, the passive 'feminine' fan who does not participate, but simply watches sport. It is in many ways closely aligned to the role of women in sport, who are identified as passive in opposition to the active role of what is 'masculine'. He explains that he wrote his column from the 'standpoint of the enthusiastic amateur'. A position which he does not see as inferior, instead he sees his contribution as

¹² Coddington, A. (1997). *One of the Lads*. p.185.

¹³ Glanville, B. (1995). *Still Looking*. pp. 47.

widening the style of the sports pages. Another example of why it is wrong to simply say women will always bring something different to sports writing, is that they will not always represent the 'feminine' outsider. Rudd is dismissive of a 'feminine' view in her work. She describes an encounter where she won tickets to a match from a newspaper, the winner was required to submit a match report on the day out. Seeing this as her chance to impress and break into sports writing, she submitted a report and telephoned the commissioning editor to see if her piece would be used, she described her surprise at the editor's response.

"But a man could have written it". I was confused.

"That's good then isn't it?" I asked.

She sighed and said my article would be printed the following Sunday. Her sigh was explained the minute I searched through the paper. My piece was in the *Women's* section. I had inadvertently been speaking to the women's editor and she had been expecting some sort of 'I felt so vulnerable on the terraces and the ever so handsome players had never met a female fan before...' essay.¹⁵

This response confused her as she felt it was a 'good' sign to have written a piece which did not distinguish her as an 'other', but as a female winner her report had been destined for the 'women's' section. She had been speaking to the women's editor, who was expecting a 'feminine' 'outsider' view of the game.¹⁶ This was a perspective which Rudd did not see herself as possessing. She was a contemporary journalist who had grown up watching male football and her socialisation had been much the same as her male colleagues, thus she did not see herself as writing any differently from them. There will always be such exceptions to any generalisations of gendered styles of writing.

There are women in all areas of journalism who are often sceptical and regard being classified as writing from a 'woman's' view, seeing difference as a factor which would only substantiate their relegation in the profession. One war correspondent, Gloria Emerson, was quoted in Elwood-Akers' *Women War Correspondents in the Vietnam War - 1961 -1975* (1988), as saying she was 'weary of feminists who think that women have special qualities of war reporting', but yet later the same correspondent states 'women reporters also ask why? And what for? With something in their voices that also asks, is it worth it?' suggesting that

¹⁴ Watkins, A. (1989). *Sports Writer's Eye*. p. 87.

¹⁵ Rudd, A. (1999). *Astroturf Blonde*. p. 68

¹⁶ Rudd, A. (1999). *Ibid*. p. 68

women do indeed offer new possibilities.¹⁷ Emerson does seem to be proposing her gender is a factor which separates her approach from her male colleagues. As Chapter Four discusses the relationship of women to sport and war directly effected their access to the events and hence their perspective. In order to get the stories they pushed back the boundaries, challenged the status quo of information and offered alternatives. The result was stories which would have otherwise not have been told. This is not to say their male colleagues did not come up with original stories, but the position women were put in is the fundamental reason why it stretched the limits of their writing. Gender is the primary dividing factor. It is for this reason the effects of gender can not be underestimated in journalism.

Whether women writers enhanced sports writing because of their 'femininity' is complex. Karen Buchanan editor of *FourFourTwo*, a male professional football magazine in the mid-1990s does not believe she has 'a different view because she's a woman but because she's closer to the fans' and has taken note of what fans want out of football magazines.¹⁸ But was it the restriction in her social positioning to spectator, rather than participator in such a male sport, which has caused her to relate to and understand the needs of other non-participants? Her outsider position is 'feminised': regardless of their gender in the sporting relationship, the fan takes up the 'feminine' position by their role as 'outsiders' to the direct action on the pitch and the likelihood is it is this relationship Buchanan has understood and interpreted. In *Feminist Media Studies* van Zoonen argues Examples from the investigation shows that writing from the position of, or about, the spectator role is evident in the writing by women. Articles like 'Anyone for Lawn Tennis' (1977) which profiles 'Tennis Week' in Bournemouth and 'Wimbledon the Wacky' (1988) look at attending the events as a spectator and enjoying the event as a special occasion.¹⁹ 'Anyone for Lawn Tennis' is also a light hearted description of the author's attendance describing it as a 'annual family outing; an event to which we look forward'. Both articles are from the perspective of people attending, not

¹⁷ Elwood-Akers, V. (1988). *Women War Correspondents in the Vietnam War - 1961 -1975*. London: The Scarecrow Press. Inc. p. 6

¹⁸ Bennett, V. (1996). *Women, Football and the Media*.

¹⁹ Heywood, M. (1977) Anyone for Lawn. pp. 81-2; And Mitchison, A. (1988). Wimbledon the Wacky. *New Statesman and Society*. 1 July. pp. 10-11.

participating at events in a direct physical way. This aspect of a 'feminised' relationship to sport as a spectator rather than participator is part of this.

The emphasis on the importance of the spectator was also present in work by women who had accessed the expert voice in sport and become accepted in the sports section. Two of the articles by Welch in the 1980s, which were inside the sports section, look at a variety of different roles of the spectator. In 'A Match for the Boys' (1989) she questions whether or not the presence of women can have a civilising influence at male professional football matches.²⁰ In 'The Welch Guide to Sports Watchers' (1982) she looks at how people watch sport rather than participate.²¹ Both of these articles give value to the function of the spectator and the fan in sporting events. In these examples it is the passive 'feminine' aspect of sports which are being considered, in particular in the first reference where she is directly investigating the physical presence of the 'female' in the male domain. The input of the female voice in this manner is expanding the coverage of sport.

In this chapter the concept of this 'feminine' perspective is reclaimed. A female American sports writer, Ludtke implied on the basis of her own experience, that the fact that women were outsiders does not have to be seen as marginal.²² There were clear examples in the periodical search where the reporting on male sports benefited from the input of views from the 'outsider' female. One article called 'Britain in the Bunker' looks at mainstream sports with a critical perspective.²³ It asks whether with golf booming, issues have been raised about the explosion lead to clubs wanting to build on green belt land. Is this the outsider casting a critical eye over a dominant sport? This dissent by the writer is not permitted space in the sports section and is instead relegated to the magazine supplement, but could only an 'outsider' confront such a subject?

The other major benefit of an 'outsider' perspective was not only its ability to enhance the 'normal' formats of sports writing, but also to widen the scope by bringing in minority sports

²⁰ Welch, J. (1989). A Match. p. 21.

²¹ Welch, J. (1982). The Welch Guide to Sports Watchers. *Observer*. 30 may. pp. 44-5.

²² Creedon, P. (Ed.). (1994). *Women, Sport and the Media*. p. 89.

not conventionally covered. The mixed sex profile articles in the search illustrate the ability to include new sports like roller-disco in 'No Longer the Rink Outsiders' (1980).²⁴ An event which would have previously been dismissed in sports reporting, this article presents the desire of the sport to be taken seriously. By explaining carefully and bringing the sport to life for the reader the article relays the dedication of the participants. The ability to go beyond the established format can be seen in the emergence of Kilmartin's writing in 1972. Her articles range from yachting to various other minority sports, in particular featuring profiles on woman athletes. In 'Superman to the Aid of the Special Olympics' (1981) it is the lesser known event which is profiled. The discussion of this event validates its competence as serious competition.²⁵ While the female voice is not strong enough in this instance to force the discussion of this subject on to the sports pages, its inclusion on the 'Women's Guardian' page is a small step towards the progress of transforming the event.

An examination of the overall evolution of sports writing studied here indicates that the increase in the numbers of women writing on sport coincided with the widening development of the styles in sports writing in general. The periodical search tracks the numbers writing on sport and the growth of their work was not shown to occur here with any significance until the 1960s and really took off in the 1970s. The data from the *Observer* newspaper indicates that the approaches used in sports writing also developed around this time. In the 1960s Appendix 7.2 depicts that the newspaper is still largely dominated by match reports, but by 1970 onwards Appendix 7.3 indicates alternative kinds of writing have taken over a larger share of the sports pages.

There are arguably numerous reasons why these two matters transpired at the same time. It is a 'chicken or the egg' situation:.. what came first is hard to determine. Did a move away from the traditional format in sports writing allow more space for women to enter? Or did the expansion in women change the reliance on the conventional form of coverage? However

²³ McNamara, S. (1991). Britian in the Bunker. *Observer*. 2 June. Magazine. pp. 16-19, 21-2, 24

²⁴ Price, C. (1980). No Longer the Rink Outside. *Sunday Times*. 28 September. Magazine. pp.110-111.

²⁵ Franks, H. (1981). Superman to the Aid of the Special Olympics. *Guardian*. 7 April. p. 10.

what can be determined is that whichever was the catalyst, the sports section did change and a large part of those stylistic transformations are reflected in the writings of women. In 1995 a new academic advisory book on sports writing by Fensch describes this transition in sports writing as a move from 'just producing scores and standing'.²⁶ This type of writing was no longer a satisfactory form of information for the reader. Mary Fitzhenry, Secretary of the Sport Writers Association of Great Britain argues the benefit of new styles of writing and the potential they offered for women in an article in 1990. Her recommendation was for them to make their mark in 'feature writing and investigative reporting', both emerging new styles of sporting reporting outside of the traditional reports. She associated new styles as positive for women. Like Coddington she argues that the increase of women's writing will allow the sports section to break free from the dominance of one perspective based on a traditional view and gender make-up. The styles she promotes are the ones in which she feels women would have a chance of success, as the industry becomes more aware of the dogma in current match reporting. Her belief is that women could be particularly effective as an antidote to the current overuse of match reports and 'obvious football profiles'.²⁷ Fitzhenry's argument implies a new insight will offer fresh ideas and concepts about the definition of what sports reporting can and should be.

For this reason the female voice did enhance sports writing because of the possibilities it offered to expand its remit beyond the traditional assumption of what sport should be. This was a factor which had been advocated by women journalists for many decades. The conviction that the narrow focus of the sports pages would benefit from the views of women writers as well as athletes was discussed in *The Sportswoman* (1933) which declared 'in some ways feminine understanding of the 'psychology' of the game is greater than that of the masculine onlooker'.²⁸ Wendy Howard, a questionnaire respondent argues women can offer an alternative viewpoint to sports writing because of they often bring out a 'more human side' by using a 'sympathetic style' to bring 'sports men and women out of themselves'. Another contemporary tabloid sports writer Vikki Orvice describes her own approach and the benefits

²⁶ Fensch, T. (1995). *The Sports Writing Handbook* (2nd Edition). Hove: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers. p. xiv.

²⁷ Fitzhenry, M. (1990). Stop Press. p. 35.

of the female voice. She notes the advantage of having an alternative perspective is to include new aspects to your reports, such as including a comment made on the way to the ground, what music was playing or a funny story. This she argues brings more atmosphere to the traditional style of writing, by moving away from the concentration on the players and getting straight into football matters.²⁹ These women all saw their own perspective as an additional benefit to the traditional construction of sports writing.

While women sports writers can not be perceived as a homogeneous group, the common factor of their position as 'outsider' to the traditional format of sport and sports reporting unites them. A review of the styles in the alternative canon shows that the connection of women to the private sphere has emerged in their writing. There is evidence discussed above, that the women themselves felt they offered a different sort of approach to writing. Whether in the form of more atmosphere and getting inside the event, often exposing its inner issues, prioritising the personal factor in sports or to bring out the 'human' side of sports, the private sphere had a valid part in the discussion of public sphere events and so began to legitimise a different more 'feminine' side of sports writing.

Both Welch and Howard above claim that part of women's alternative viewpoint is their ability to bring out a 'more human side' of sport.³⁰ Their reference to the term 'human' represents the desire to bring the people of sporting competition into the forefront of sport writing. This is in stark contrast to the traditional review of event, and more statistical styles seen in match reporting which have dominated the sports pages this century. One way the evidence from the periodical search supports their view is by the use of the 'human interest' category in their work. The classification of 'human interest' is defined for the purposes of this analysis as, a philanthropic interest in a subject matter with a charitable tone. In this kind of writing the purpose is to present the reader with a situation related to sports which has an

²⁸ (1933). Sportswomen's year of Triumph. *The Sportswoman*. May.

²⁹ Coddington, A. (1997). *One of the Lads*. p. 183.

³⁰ As discussed in Chapter Two and Three - the trend towards women writers emphasis on 'human interest' and 'inside story' is complemented by the fact that this style of feature writing is often easier for women to accommodate with family life. As freelance was the major type of employment for women sports writers - writing features was more likely to be the type of work commissioned by Editors.

emotive aspect to the humanity of the reader. One particularly interesting aspect of the contribution of 'human interest' stories by women writers in the periodical search was despite being an approach aligned to their gender, it was not a defining aspect of the writing. All of the articles uncovered in this category were focused on mixed sex or general sporting issues rather than a single gender angle. In bringing together unique aspects of the human experience this style of writing transcended gender as a subject matter.

The 'human interest' example of sporting writing by women fell into two notable categories. The first is how exceptional people and their ideas or inspiration can improve a sport. In 'Making the Ball Talk' (1982) the writer uses an emotive connection, focusing on how blind cricketers have used new technologies to enjoy a game previously thought beyond their capabilities.³¹ Another similar focus is 'Safe in the saddle, Susie can face a difficult world with a smile' in the *Daily Telegraph* which also looks at how marginal people in sport have found new pleasures. It portrays the way in which participation in sport can help handicapped children. She tells the story of one of the riders and participation becomes a vehicle for effecting change in a humane way.³² The second group tends to contemplate the emotional aspects of people in relation to the sporting event. For example 'When Nightmares come True' (1989) in the *New Statesman and Society* is an emotive piece which pulls on the heart strings, by placing the reader in connection to a survivor of the sporting disaster of Hillsborough.³³ This was an incident where many football supporters were crushed to death in a stand while watching a match. She draws the reader into the story by showing how a common event can unexpectedly turn into tragedy and how normal people had to cope.

Directly after a disaster, the most pressing need is for people to know what has happened to friends of family... A counsellor in Sheffield described it as 'living alongside people seeing their worse nightmare come true'.³⁴

³¹ Bateman, C. (1982). Making the Ball Talk. p. 16.

³² Edmunds, L. (1972). Safe in the Saddle. p. 13.

³³ Brotchie, J. (1989). When Nightmares come True. *New Statesman and Society*. 12 May. p. 19-20.

³⁴ Brotchie, J. (1989). When Nightmares come True. p. 19-20.

The normality of the situation where the tragedy occurs immediately brings the reader closer to the subject and then when the author relates the trauma of what the survivor has undergone, it is easier for a more personal association to be made. The greatest repercussion of this 'human interest' story is based on the common experience.

In each article in this style the reader is drawn in to the subject with emotional connection. The majority of women surveyed thought women in sports journalism did bring out a different 'more human' side to the sports pages. 12 in total, agreed this could be an issue, but many did so with reservations. As discussed above the fear of being labelled 'feminine'-only is a complex issues because of the danger of being restricted. Mott stated

how my feminist self would like to disagree with this. On the whole, though is true. I'm not really fascinated by how many on-drives Mark Waugh had hit in his life time, but why he's living with a much older woman. I don't think that's irrelevant, but it throws light on his character which is what made him the cricketer he is, statistics bear no witness.

Mott is aware of the risk she is taking by allowing herself to be classified by her sex, but is also aware her own perspective and interest on sport is different from the traditional view of what is important in sport. Her description of her own intrigue in sport reflects the proposals by Coddington and Burton-Nelson by showing a preference away from the dry, statistical review.

The 'human interest' style of writing analysed in this research is certainly the kind of writing women have been successful at, but that it is not to say they cannot be successful elsewhere, or that males colleagues cannot also embrace this type of writing. Ashton is wary of attributing this factor to women only and argues the human side comes from

seeing sports people as 'people' rather than just players or athletes. These could be written by men or women, talking about their backgrounds, families, ambitions etc.

She is aware the 'human interest' story is, of course, not only within the intrinsic capabilities of women writers. Burgess provides the same form of answer, consistent with the goals of her NCTJ training, she believes any trained journalist should be capable of finding the 'human interest' story and there 'should be no real difference'. However the truth is the evidence of the experiences of men and women in sports show there has been a difference. This type of writing did not emerge until women began to find a more visible role in the

1970s, as demonstrated by the comparison of Appendix 7.2, 7.3 which shows the diversification of the styles in the *Observer*, to Appendix 8.3.2 and 8.3.3 which illustrates the styles favoured by women in the periodical search. The issues of this debate are summed up by Kelly.

Like news and feature writing woman can produce more empathetic human interest stories, but whether it's because they're better at this than men or simply better listeners is debatable.

Kelly asserts that women have been more successful at bringing new voices to the betterment of sports writing, not simply because they are biologically women, but as outsiders they have listened more closely to the needs of the reader, rather than adhered to the strict acceptance of the inherited approaches.

The women respondents in this survey do indicate it was an area the female voice had the ability to exploit. Joint argues she felt that an increase in more women as sports reporters would 'humanise the rather robotic clinical coverage' of the newspapers. Self argued she could see the advantage of the addition of female expression on the 'human' perspective and had seen it in some areas of the press.

I think the tabloids are like they have always been. Some of the broadsheets employ women columnists who bring out the human side, but that has not spread to many reporters yet.

The ones who disagreed that women brought a more human side to sports reporting were Crawford, Price-Fisher, and one respondent who wished to remain anonymous. All were among the older women surveyed who had also suggested they didn't approve of 'rocking the boat'. They did not want to come out as trouble makers, as they were working at a time before the women's rights movement in the 1970s.

While there can be no definitive female perspective, the connection of the 'human interest' story to 'feminine' capabilities, does show it is a genre of reporting that is valued by women and does play a large role in a more 'feminine' ideal of sports writing. For example, when Taylor was asked what qualities made a good sports journalist, she stated she values the ability to 'seek out 'human interest' behind the stars'. Her definition of 'good' sports writing is validated by Fensch's description of good writing that it offers 'the reader material they

cannot get from television'.³⁵ This is consistent with Taylor's proposition of the writer's ability to get behind the results, because in the television age this is exactly the type of information the reader can get instantaneously. The need to expand on the kind of sports writing, in conjunction with the requirements of the readers, provides an opening for a new approach. The 'Inside Story' was another style favoured by the female voice, which concentrates on going behind the scenes and looking at sports people in new ways. This category is a common theme of the periodical search in articles which delved deeper into the constructed images of sports to present the reader with a different reality. Each has one particular thing in common: the obligation to add a different element of 'truth'. The search for 'truth' may occur for different reasons, but there is a distinct process of going 'inside' to uncover some of the secrets of the public sphere and then perceive the private sphere aspects of them. It has been argued by women journalists that they 'are less likely to dwell on the game itself, their writing is often more thoughtful' and it is this which provides the 'ability to get inside'.³⁶ It is an ironic situation for women, 'outsiders' to the institutions of sport, that they become instrumental in exposing the 'inside' view.

Taking on the role of the 'insider' to produce this type of writing was a form of empowerment for women. It gave them the ability to not only speak on sport, but to do so in what was in some cases a threatening, questioning and exposing manner. Four of the articles in this category were on financial concerns, a subject area that is firmly located in the public sphere as a 'masculine' issue. Money has long been regarded as one of the key areas of control in society and access to this in a male domain was generally not available to women. For example the earliest article 'Olympics Vive le Sport' looked at the 'true' cost of the winter Olympic games in Grenoble for the people who were acting as hosts. The writer asks 'has the show been worth it?': instead of celebrating the event she is concerned with its effect on the people.³⁷ To answer her question she goes behind the hype of the image of the Olympics and uncovers what the country's tax payers have sacrificed in terms of services to hold the event. A similar review takes place in 'The Sponsorship Racket' (1988) which

³⁵ Fensch, T. (1995). *The Sports Writing Handbook*. p. 93.

³⁶ Alexander, S. (1984). *Newspaper Coverage*. pp. 655.

³⁷ Lyon, M. (1968). *Olympics - Vive le Sport!* *New Statesman*. 75. 16 February. p. 202.

explores the amount of money tennis players of both genders are capable of earning and reveals the actual costs and the outcome of this power on the sport.³⁸ The influence of money on a sport, in the form of amateur and professional status and its implications, is also the focus of 'Broome Jumps into Big Money' (1973) on women jockeys.³⁹ While 'The Football Bosses' (1983) looks at the money in male professional football and how it is used and manipulated. The writer states

very little is publicly known about the men who *own* [sic] the clubs, and how they are changing. The occasional headline about Robert Maxwell's disputes with Oxford United Supporters doesn't fill the gaps in knowledge, just what is going on?⁴⁰

This kind of inquisition shows how the 'inside story' can operate as an exposé raising new questions of previously accepted or unknown activities. Her intention to find out answers demonstrates the power she has accessed in her role as the writer.

Another strong theme was articles which considered the rise in football violence in the 1960s and again in the 1980s. The first article on this particular type of 'inside story' is 'Nobody Understands Us...' (1968) co-written by Rosemary Collins and Peter Lawrence.⁴¹ It discusses the behind-the-scenes story of those who were responsible for conducting the violence and presents it as a conversation between a psychiatrist and four men who have been convicted of football violence in the form of a question and answer session. There are interjections on evidence by the authors, in an attempt to offer another perspective to the reader. The way it lets the reader go inside the minds of these men and speak in their own words reveals a greater understanding of the reasoning behind their behaviour. The 1980 article 'Hillsborough's Grim Tale of Accidents and Blunders' (1989) takes a different turn on the issue of football violence and focuses on the 'inside story' from a safety perspective, following the Hillsborough disaster.

Lord Justice Taylor's interim report into football's worst disaster makes grim reading - a slow accumulation of chance, accidents, mismanagement, misunderstanding and blunders.

³⁸ Todd, A. (1988). The Sponsorship racket. *Observer*. 19 June. Magazine. pp. 26, 28.

³⁹ Murphy, G. (1973). Broome Jumps into Long Money. *Observer*. 18 February. p. 25.

⁴⁰ Barr, S. (1983). The Football Bosses. *New Society*. 19 May. pp. 253-4.

⁴¹ Collins, R. and Laurie, (1968). P. Nobody Understands Us... *Sunday Times Magazine*. 17 March. p. 42.

In this article she reports the exact circumstances and timings of the disaster, as well as the role of the police and the emergency circumstances in a detailed minute by minute breakdown.⁴² The aim is to discover more about a problem or event, an important factor being to understand for the benefit of the general public matters of concern to them. By highlighting the hidden aspects of a story the new perspective they provide acts as a service to the reader.

The 'Inside' story was also used to portray issues that were important to women, such as their discrimination in sports. The construction of gender and the effect of sex differences is a fundamental concern of the 'inside' story with nearly half of the articles on women questioning or revealing difficulties in traditional male sporting activities. In 'Women in Sport' (1989), Welch looks at the myths about women's interest and participation in sport and replaces this with discussions from real women of their actual desires and contribution.⁴³ In addition, Kahn chooses this style to write about her own experiences on being allowed in the locker room of a male golf tournament for the first time in over 20 years of trying. Her account in 'I've seen more Flesh' (1992) offers a description of the 'inner sanctum' of the locker room. The special aspect of her report is a perspective which connects her to the readers who, in general, are also not privy to the inner activities of a competition golf locker room.

Walk through the first sizeable room and you reach a small inner sanctum where lockers for the week belong to an elite group of past champions. The atmosphere is hospitable. Overall it's a place of calm. There are obvious underlying tensions and a special camaraderie between players, who banter, congratulate, commiserate, exchange gossip and are sensitive to hopes realised or shattered.⁴⁴

Here she is the 'insider' who is placed in the position to relate the animation of the activities of the behind closed doors activities, ones she had been denied access to for so long. This was a physical account of her movement from the role of 'outsider' to the all-seeing 'insider' and it was a glimpse of life the reader would also not be privy to without her insight.

⁴² Mills, H. (1989). Hillsborough's Grim Tale of Accidents and Blunders. *Independent*. 5 August. p. 2.

⁴³ Welch, J. (1989). *Women in Sport*. p. 30.

⁴⁴ Kahn, L. (1992). *I've Seen More Flesh*. p. 93.

The use of the word 'inside' in this manner implies the author goes within the inner workings of the sport. Both Thompson and St John wrote books from their own privileged insight into their chosen sports. In *Quest for Greatness: A Celebration of Lammtarra and the Racing Season* (1996) Thompson 'sets out to discover the roots of our [sic] obsession' and in *Shooting at Clouds: Inside the European Tour* (1991) St John is promoted as 'an insider's view of the pressures and personalities', while her book *Out of Bounds: Inside Professional Golf* (1991) it is describes as 'part golf writer's diary, part travelogue, and part investigative sports book'.⁴⁵ Both writers use their perception of incidents to inform the reader of the behind-the-scenes view of sports events, which are separate from the traditional presentations in newspapers. These 'inside stories' present the drama, the personalities, the feelings, the emotions and occurrences in their own personal ways.

Thompson brings the flat racing season to life by captivating the reader with the drama and literary skill of a fictional text. Her revelations into the murder of the trainer for the horse of the season, Lammtarra, portray the insight and intrigue which goes beyond the simple fact that Lammtarra dominated and caught the public's attention. The inside cover promises the book 'traces the rhythms of the flat racing year, the way in which our knowledge of horses deepens as the summer progresses and the great races are run.'⁴⁶ She not only 'traces the rhythms' of the season and 'deepens' the reader's knowledge of the horse racing season as it progresses, but explains how the story of Lammtarra captured her. Similarly in *Shooting at Clouds* St John breathes life into the story of the professional golfers on the European Tour. The inside front cover promises that 'it is a story about life...about the unique, nomadic existence that a professional golfer on the European Tour leads.'⁴⁷ That it is about 'life' is crucial for her ability to be recognised as the universal voice and her ability as expert. The people she writes about are like characters she has breathed life into, in the same way as a novelist. These are all examples of a new trend in writing which Williams identifies in his *The Esquire Book of Sports Writing*. He argues that the transition in sport writing would reveal

⁴⁵ St John, L. (1995). *Out of Bounds*. p. inside cover.

⁴⁶ Thompson, L. (1996). *Quest for Greatness*. p. Inside Cover.

⁴⁷ St John, L. (1991). *Shooting at Clouds*. p. Inside Cover.

'something about the time' which would 'involve the reader' to 'be absorbed' as if 'reading a novel'.⁴⁸ Both these women demonstrate this style in their inside stories.

It is in this transition of styles that women writers have pushed back the boundaries and challenged the traditional view of sport. In her introduction to *A Girls Guide to Ball Games* (1996) Mott promises that it 'will tell you what women really know about playing with a ball. And it might just tell you what men know, or think they know about women.'⁴⁹ Reducing the concept of sport to 'playing' with balls removes the emphasis on the serious nature of sport, which has removed women from their right to play.⁵⁰ St John also undermines the nature of the game of golf in *Shooting at Clouds* (1991). She begins her introduction with a mock definition: 'golf n. outdoor game in which small hard ball is struck with clubs into a succession of holes.'⁵¹ The phrasing of this definition in non-academic terms simplifies the actuality of the game. It tells the basic facts, with none of the ascribed rules and institutional values or gender assumptions about the ability to play. By stripping down the wider aspects of the game she challenges the cultural constructions which have prevented women from participating.

The benefit of having a female voice to tell the 'inside story' is that it can open up the remit of sports coverage by profiling a minority sport and doing so in a 'personal' manner.

Thompson uses personal histories to narrate the history of an entire sport in *The Dogs: A Personal History of Greyhound Racing* (1994). The inside cover states: '*The Dogs* opens this world to us, explaining the history - its beginnings, its heyday, and its problematic future - as well as unravelling the intricacies of the sport.'⁵² This advertises itself as a comprehensive text, one that details a historical account, as well as a technical explanation, and personal insight. The book intends to raise the profile of the sport and bring it to the reading public. Her opening states that greyhound racing is the 'second most popular spectator sport in

⁴⁸ Williams, Greg. (1995). *The Esquire Book of Sports Writing*. London: Penguin. p. viii.

⁴⁹ Mott, S. (1996). *A Girl's Guide*. p. Inside back cover.

⁵⁰ Mott, S. (1996). *Ibid*. p. 10.

⁵¹ St John, L. (1991). *Shooting at Clouds*. p. 9.

⁵² Thompson, L. (1994). *The Dogs*. p. Inside Cover.

Britain (after football) but to outsiders it has remained a mystery'.⁵³ It is revealing these mysteries which is clearly her primary aim. It is also a fundamental opening line because she positions herself as an 'insider' who will reveal the 'mystery' to the reader. Thus the deconstruction of the cultural norms in sport is vital to the understanding of all sport. By exposing what is perceived as the norm and how it is executed will bring a greater understanding of sport as a cultural institution.

As the 'insider', the use of the word 'personal' in the title of Thompson's work is key in indicating the desire to get behind the factual events of the sport. It also connects the author to the work. Her own personal expertise is confirmed in the inside cover, informing the reader she is the daughter of a dog owner and has herself grown up in this world. Evidence to the tone and style of her writing is in the blurb on the front cover, by Nick Hornby. He says it is a 'deeply -felt, personal, beautifully written and accessible; a compulsory read for those of us who take our sport much too seriously'.⁵⁴ The use and tone of his language is important because of the genderised tone in Hornby's choice of words like, 'personal', 'deeply-felt', both 'feminine' associations which are celebrated against the traditional serious 'masculine' concept of sport and competition. The act of recording the lives, in addition to the events, is in many ways a 'feminine' reaction to the 'masculinisation' in sport. The choice of Hornby to validate the book is significant as he is a writer who has been seen to have changed football writing in the 1990s by his own sensitive and personal accounts in writing.

Being portrayed as the insider is also a powerful position because of its potential to expose and reveal the secrets of a sport or event. St John is enraptured by the players in *Out of Bounds* (1995) and admits her love of the sport gives her the tendency to view the profession through 'rose coloured spectacles'.⁵⁵ But she notes:

in order to write well about any sport you have to peel back the layers, to consider carefully the motivations of its participants to be unafraid to probe, to expose and to criticize [sic].⁵⁶

⁵³ Thompson, L. (1994). *The Dogs*. p. Inside Cover.

⁵⁴ Thompson, L. (1994). *Ibid*. p. Front Cover.

⁵⁵ St John, L. (1995). *Out of Bounds*. p.1.

⁵⁶ St John, L. (1995). *Ibid*. p. 2.

This view allows her to lift the lid on a variety of incidents of personal sexual harassment and the way the profession closed ranks regarding her complaints. This text which celebrates the game is also prepared to crucify its inner faults and expose them to the reader. Her position is comparable to Rudd in *Astroturf Blonde* (1998), who as well as being a football journalist, has the rare opportunity of insight into the male locker room as the sole female player of a park team. The inside front cover notes

From her unique standpoint, she offers a remarkable insight into the (almost) all-male team talks and their all-female equivalents, as well as taking the reader into the changing room, into the thick of the action and to the heart of her obsession.⁵⁷

She is unique because of her ability to break down boundaries and play with men, when women players, let alone journalists, were still an anomaly in 1998. The power of her voice in the text is to review this inner sanctum as an outsider who has had the future to be accepted. The development of the 'inside story' in their style of writing, allows women to become the 'insider' and this new influx of perspectives would surely enhance the static and accepted styles of the genre.

As the writers of the Inside story above demonstrate one of the most significant styles in the alternative canon of sports writing by women is the potential to humanise the writing through the 'personal' side of those in sport. This personal angle dominates the alternative canon in two major ways. Firstly, the categories of the 'personal life' and 'profile' articles in the periodical search accounted for 20% and 42% of their work as illustrated in Table 1. Both styles focus on the person rather than a factual account of the sport. The growth in this kind of writing has been consistent in the last three decades as shown in the styles used in the *Observer* in Appendix 7.2 and 7.3. The second format which wholly represents the personal focus, was the biography. When writing biographies all tended to do so with the goal of personalising the public accomplishments of both their male and female subjects. Their emphasis was on portraying the subject, to enlighten the reader to the people on a more intimate level, by showing what their lives were like behind the events. The method of going beyond the traditional approach of reporting in order to get the sense of people and sports behind the fixtures and results, brings sport and the private sphere together.

⁵⁷ Rudd, A. (1998). *Astroturf Blonde*. p. Inside front cover.

In both the 'personal life' and 'profile' categories, the goals are similar. In 'personal life' the emphasis is on the life of the subject behind their celebrity image, usually in an interview format. This is often mirrored in the 'profile category' where its aim is to introduce and inform the reader either of a person, a sport or event, with sporting life as the primary focus. This style promotes the sense of going inside the person and considering parts of their lives or personalities, but not always for answers to their successes; sometimes the aim is to make them more understandable to the reader and thus easier to relate to or celebrate. There is also a strong gender issue to consider in the analysis of this approach. The majority of the big celebrity interviews were usually male and were directed on information which revealed a new 'private' side of their public image. Those on women, while containing the same basic elements, also emphasised the 'exceptional' nature of the subjects and their battle as sports women. In one way or another the style reveals the inner mysteries and aspects of their existence to the reader.

The transition towards the inclusion of a 'human' personal side of sports writing on the sports pages can be examined in the development of the *Observer*. The trends of this transformation can be seen in Appendix 7.2 and 7.3 which illustrate how the *Observer* has reflected the modern diversification away from match reports to more human-based styles. While match reports still remain a large part of the make-up of the sports section, there is a clear movement to a wider selection of other writing reflecting interest in a different side of sport. For example in 1908 there is only one profile article, which explored sport in a context outside of recording a direct physical event or providing factual information. By 1924 there are five, alongside 43 match reports, three pre-match and three informative articles. The 1972 August section of the search can be used as a sample edition, containing three full pages of sport; the selection of articles break down to 1 human interest, 4 player/sport profiles, 1 informative and 4 pre-match build-up to complement the traditional match reports. Table 1 and 8.3.2 shows this is a style which also featured in writing by women from this time. The 1980 editions of the *Observer* studied comprised an even greater diversity including 23 match reports and 6 profiles showing the personal side of sport did find its way into the sports section.

This particular form of writing by women made a steady breakthrough in the 1970s and would continue to increase in newspapers through to the 1980s and 1990s, as Appendix 8.3.2 demonstrates. The only major distinction which occurred in this development was that the articles in the 1970s were not the neatly presented, uniform interview style of the later examples. Over half of the 'personal life' articles took place as a direct record of the discussion between interviewer and interviewee, where a sporting personality is put in the public eye to speak direct to the reader on the private aspects of their public profiles. Interestingly, most of the examples are from various publications of the *Times* newspaper group. They vary from the 'Valerie Grove Interview', in the *Times* which depicted powerful men in mainstream sports like soccer and tennis to 'The Sue Mott Interview' in the *Sunday Times* to 'Relative Values' section in the *Sunday Times Magazine* where famous family members speak about each other, and 'A Life in the Day' also in the magazine supplements section of the *Sunday Times*.

While there is variety in the format of each of the various examples, they all follow the criteria established in this category - to provide the reader with additional, more personal information. This style of insight into major male characters was also a favoured approach of Welch in the 1970s. Her profiles into famous sporting personalities were written in a feature rather than a direct interview, but there is a comparable sense of wit and humour in the portrayal of their man behind the image. Three examples all look at different men in football; 'Jack Charlton's smile of Steel' (1973), 'Hard man, Soft Centre' (1973) (Norman Hunter), 'The Ruthless Disinfectant' (1974)(Jim Holton) .⁵⁸ In each case she submits to the reader an intimate description to build a picture of the inner person in contrast to the public image. Her articles on Charlton try to get behind the representation of his serious manner:

Charlton is an unalterable man. Approachable, helpful, his gaze nevertheless displays all the malleable qualities of a steel girder. Apparently unaffected by his first months of managerial, he retains the incorrigible youthfulness of his playing days; hair thinning but tenacious, the affable smile still forming neat hospital corners at the sides of his mouth.

He does not look like a manager, even one whose team is in the joyful position of leading the second division. In a purplish lounge suit, he seems uncomfortably

⁵⁸ Welch, J. (1973). Hard Man, Soft Centre. *Observer*. 7 October. p. 26; Welch, J. (1973). Jack Charlton's Smile of Steel. *Observer*. 4 November. p. 26; And Welch, J. (1974). The Ruthless Disinfectant. *Observer*. 17 February. p. 22.

elegant; he still prefers, he says, to wear his tracks suit round the club, and in the team photo he appears thus, comfortable indistinguishable at the head of two rows of smiling cross-kneed brawn.⁵⁹

In this description she brings the reader into the article by setting the scene in this visual manner. The reader can share her look behind the normal expectation of the man and interact with her insight into the image of Charlton as a manager. She examines Hunter in a similar manner, in order to explore what type of person he really is behind his tough public exterior and she achieves this by a clever device of describing his 'grin' to the reader. Her summary of his smile as a 'mixture of the rueful and the conciliatory', is an interpretation of his emotions, as inherently hidden in his smile, give clues to the reader of who Hunter was and who he has become in his reconciliation with his regret of his past behaviour.⁶⁰ It is this type of witty insight into the physical characteristics of her subject, which she uses to enhance an understanding of their person. She implements great humour in her portrait of Holton as a 'bony, booted, gangling threat who patrols in defence with the soft tread of an elephants rumba'.⁶¹ She humanises the subject and brings him down to a level the reader can associate with, rather than wrapping them up in elevated praise to preserve their status as celebrities. Her emphasis on their appearance rather than their constructed image, escapes from the confines of this representation and illustrates how she has been able to demonstrate the strength of the female voice in re-examining the characters in the game.

In the Valerie Grove interview there is a prevailing theme in her work to examine those men who are at the highest level of their sport. Her subjects include John Hall, at the time when he was buying the male professional team, Newcastle United FC and Nick Bollettieri, one of the most prestigious coaches in tennis.⁶² But she does not give an account to the reader simply to praise them, instead she is more questioning. In the first, the title 'Can Likely Lad from Legoland Net United and Win the Cup?' (1989) she refers to his battle to buy the club and fulfil dreams of winning cups, but in order to explain this drive she goes back to his childhood and what life was like for him as a boy.

⁵⁹ Welch, J. (1973). Jack Charlton's Smile of Steel. p. 26

⁶⁰ Welch, J. (1973). Ibid. p. 26

⁶¹ And Welch, J. (1974). The Ruthless Disinfectant. *Observer*. 17 February. p. 22.

Hall the businessman, who comes from Ashington, like the Charlton brothers, and has been a United supporter since he started going to matches at eight.⁶³

She places a lot of importance on his personal background and relates this to the reader in conjunction to her own similar experiences to Hall by commenting how they both grew up in a time where the club were a success. Her technique is to offer her own opinion on Hall, stating he is 'hard to distrust' and 'straight' and 'honest'. This approach serves to re-dress the balance between a high powered business man and the common football fan.

This kind of approach is the same on Bollettieri in 'Would you Sell this Man your Son?' (1991). Again she still concentrates on 'who is this guy?' of the coach who was responsible for three of the men in the quarter-finals at Wimbledon this year.⁶⁴ She asks 'Would I sell my son to Nick Bollettieri for \$1 million?' to try and understand the concerns that have been raised on the ethical nature of his extreme coaching techniques. She explains why the question is necessary because he is 'notorious' and 'tales of his draconian dictatorship have filtered out of his Florida Academy'. To find the answers she again goes back to his childhood.

Who is this guy? Bollettieri was raised near the Bronx, in New York, where his father ran a drugstore and his mother was a real Italian mamma. His grandparents came from Naples. He was never a top player. He dropped out of law school and became the kind of pro who is one step up from the beach bum at a north Miami resort. Sixteen years ago he was unemployed'....

She continues to explore all aspects of his private life and public image to allow her to answer her questions and discover his motivations and reasons for success. Both of her investigations want to know more about the men who are creating the big sports stories. In these examples Grove upholds the person as the key to understanding the sporting issues that surround these men.

One woman who also used this type of writing was Sue Mott. She was the sole contributor of this type of article on male sport found inside the sports section in the 1990s. Like Grove,

⁶² Grove, V. (1991). Would You Sell this Man Your Son? p. 3; and Grove, V. (1989). Can Likely Lad from Legoland Net United and Win the Cup? *Sunday Times*. 26 February. p. B5.

⁶³ Grove, V. (1989). Can Likely Lad. p. B5

⁶⁴ Grove, V. (1991). *Ibid.* p. 3

she is able to illustrate the power of her voice through the presentation of her name as the section heading. All of these articles were presented as the 'Sue Mott Interview' along with an accompanying photo. Her focus is on a male sporting personality and in a decisive move from the 1980s they are located in the *Sunday Times* sports section. The subjects of her interviews are high profile stars from mainstream sports such as football and cricket. Her interest is not only in their achievements as players, but in the make-up of their personalities which has distinguished them in their star status or their jobs. She is not afraid to criticise or poke fun at large male sporting personalities - for example, 'Rambo takes his new life in his stride' (1992) on the new career of a former professional footballer, Norman Hunter, who is now studying to be a physiotherapist. Considering his previous reputation for 'iron hard tackles bordering on reckless thuggery' the fact he is now aiming to treat sports injuries 'might bring a twisted smile to the lips of a few defenders'.⁶⁵ In these interviews she portrays the subject by speaking her mind, with confidence and humour .

Another frequent aspect of Mott's work is to take the reader to the interview with her and help them to share in her experience of getting to know the interviewee. In 'Super Sub prepares for the Axe' (1992) she talks with Liverpool Football Club coach, Ronnie Moran, and his history of stepping in when the manager gets the sack.⁶⁶ Her style focuses on letting the subject speak and she adds the additional colour and description for the reader to enhance his comments, such as 'the steely blue eyes are unflinching as he delivers this football homily'. This type of portrait describes his physical movements as he talks and gives clues to the reader of his personality. Such as her description of the location of the interview. 'In the small managers office, complete with the bar that Kenny Dalglish had installed to entertain friends deep in the bowels of Anfield'.⁶⁷ These are the types of details which allow the readers to gain a picture in their minds. In doing this they are connected to the subject in the context of his private domain rather than being presented with his public persona. She uses the same technique in 'Essex Man who Basks in the Shade' (1992) on Keith Fletcher upon his new appointment as manager of the male England Cricket Team. Her narrative account

⁶⁵ Mott, S. (1992). Rambo takes his New Life in his Stride. *Sunday Times*. 15 November. Section 2, p. 15.

⁶⁶ Mott, S. (1992). Super Sub Prepared for the Axe. *Sunday Times*. 26 April. Section 2, p. 11.

of him in the introduction states that he 'conveys an image about as commanding and inspiring as Disney's seventh dwarf: the one they call Bashful'.⁶⁸ Once again the reader is immediately given a picture and a feeling of his type of character. These are not factual accounts of why these men are placed in the positions they are, instead they offer emotive images to give the reader alternative ways they can relate to these men.

Mott is clever in her method of creating a private, and behind the scenes, image of her subjects. One article on the popular snooker player Jimmy White 'Artful Dodger still Picking a Pocket or Two' (1992) is particularly interesting because of her style in bringing her own personal background and a 'feminine' perspective to relate his story. She writes in the introduction, 'my mother always worried about Jimmy White' and goes on to state how her mother fears he is not looking after himself and her desire to care for him. This account is used by Mott to emphasis the maternal feelings the public have for White and this places him on a level the reader can more easily relate to. She says 'one glance at that whey-faced waif, hunched tensely over his snooker cue, a pallid testimony to the ravages of beers and biryani'.⁶⁹ This description of him presents a clear picture not only of his appearance, but also his lifestyle. In one opening paragraph she has given the reader his public status, as loved celebrity cared for by other people's mothers, his demeanour and his private vices. The reader is immediately engaged with the private side of his nature.

Muir is another writer who figured strongly in the periodical search and also adopted in this type of writing. She follows the trend, like, Grove and Mott, in interviews which focus on the powerful men in sport. Four examples of her work found in the search all examine high profile men as they undergo a crucial event in their lives. All the issues are related to their lives in sport, she is also interested in who they are and how they cope with such events. Her focus on Ardiles as he takes over as manager, Newcastle United in 'Trying to take Goals to

⁶⁷ Mott, S. (1992). Super Sub. p. 11.

⁶⁸ Mott, S. (1992). Essex man who Basks in the Shade. *Sunday Times*. 30 August. Section 2, p. 10.

⁶⁹ Mott, S. (1992). Artful Dodger Still Picking a Pocket or Two. *Sunday Times*. 22 November. Section 2. p.10.

Newcastle' (1991) is on his status as an Argentinean and cultural outsider and his intellectual ability; she uses these factors to determine the unique qualities he will bring to the club.⁷⁰

Osvaldo Ardiles plays chess. He solves the chess problem, in *The Times* everyday, and applies the game's techniques to football. The transfer from theory to practice in his new job as manager of Newcastle United has not been that easy. Asking footballers to move is one thing. Asking them to think is another.

It is also the personal qualities of Venebles she is concerned with, in his take over of another football Club Tottenham Hotspur in 'El Tel, Running with the Ball' (1991). The sub-head states - 'Terry Venebles, who won the battle for Tottenham Hotspur, talks to Kate Muir about a funny old game' and although the main focus is how he fought to gain control of the club again childhood background is highlighted as valuable insight to understanding his motivations.

It takes more than luck to rise from very ordinary beginnings as the only child of Myrtle and Fred in Dagenham, Essex, to his present status, aged 48 controlling millions. 'My mother was quite strict and businesslike. She wouldn't stand any nonsense. My father was easy-going and funny'. It was this genetic combination that put him on the fast track.⁷¹

By offering the reader this background they are able to relate to Venebles in a way other than the ruthless businessman and manager, they can see beyond his success to the factor which have driven him. Her article on Imran Khan in 'The All-Rounder takes a New Guard' (1992) values personal insight in a different way, not by looking at his own childhood, but how the famous cricketer has used the hero worship directed at him not only to inspire others and to help underprivileged children to play, but to other impoverished sections of his community with the money he has earned through his cricket career.⁷² She is showing how he has taken the impact of success out of its public sphere value and used its worth in the private sphere of people's lives. This kind of insight into such a popular sports man clarifies how his own personal characteristics have created his image, as much as his sporting achievements. She uses the same focus to a larger extent in her analysis of boxing promoter Mickey Duff in 'More than a Match for Duff' (1992), where she reveal events in his life and the difficulties he has faced to give the reader a better understanding of the man behind the image.⁷³

⁷⁰ Muir, K. (1991). Trying to Take Goals to Newcastle. *Times*. 5 April. p. 16.

⁷¹ Muir, K. (1991). El Tel, Running with the Ball. *Times*. 28 June. p. 12.

⁷² Muir, K. (1992). The All-Rounder. pp.4-6.

⁷³ Muir, K. (1992). More than a Match for Duff. *Times*. 12 May. supt. p. 4.

While Muir's angle is to offer information to enhance the understanding of how the man behind the image has bettered, the *Sunday Times Magazine* interview 'A Life in the Day' (1982) allows the subject, again mainly male, to open up to the interviewer in his own words to provide additional insight in to his person. Of the examples found in the periodical search, even though the interviews were carried out by different writers they were all women. Both Curtis and Wilkes utilised this style in the study, but the format remains consistent regardless of the writer. In each, the interview differs from the previous examples, which presents information on their lives, because it is the subject in question who is speaking about themselves rather than the writer relating to the reader. They are all from the position of the subject using the expression 'I', allowing others into their daily routines. For example in the case of Buster Mottram the tennis player, he talks about his desire to spend more time in the places he visits and his love for trying new foods, as well as dispelling the myths behind the glamour at tournaments.⁷⁴ Likewise Imran Kahn describes his day and also talks about his personal relationships, social life and religious beliefs.⁷⁵ It is a style which offers the opportunity for the subject to talk to the reader directly and creates a far more intimate connection between the two.

Within the analysis on the 'personal life' style of writing there was another theme evident in this classification, the personal insight portrayal of 'exceptional' people, groups or events. Those focusing on 'exceptional' people were equal in terms of gender with five male and female subject based articles. The male contributions generally followed the same criteria as those discussed above, to provide the reader with additional information on the person rather than the sports star. For example, the article 'The World at his Feet' (1989) presents the social background and the dedication of the parents supporting a rising young footballer, while another on boxing promoter Frank Warren delves into the reality of his world behind the scenes, including getting shot and how he has dealt with such issues.⁷⁶ Both feature people who have excelled or experienced something out of the ordinary and this method

⁷⁴ Curtis, G. (1981). A Life in the Day of Buster Mottram. Buster Mottram and Gail Curtis. *Sunday Times*. 21 June. Magazine. p. 70.

⁷⁵ Wilkes, A. (1982). A Life in the Day of Imran Khan, Pakistani Cricketer. Imran Khan with Angela Wilkes. *Sunday Times*. 24 October. Magazine. p. 94.

⁷⁶ Greenwood, L. (1989). The World at his Feet. p. F1; And Driscoll, M. (1989). Mayhem. p. A7.

allows the writer to present it to the reader in a different way to a sports report or a news story.

Where there is a female subject and issues of 'femininity' are closely linked to their 'exceptional' ability. One article, 'The Ugly Drugs behind the Body Beautiful' (1989) examines how a woman body builder has had to deal with her addiction to steroids and the contradictions in this profession regarding the destruction of the traditional female body and the development of muscles.⁷⁷ This is the same type of approach in 'This Woman is a Champion, not a Wiggling Vamp' (1987) which highlights the accomplishments of Fatima Whitbred, while at the same time questioning the assumptions of 'femininity' which have hampered her success because of the continued harassment of her muscular, hence 'masculine' figure.⁷⁸ The association of the traditional acceptable view of women is also in conjunction with the profile of Paula Fudge and Ann Ford in 'The Amazing Dedication of Two Middle Distance Runners' (1977).⁷⁹ The writer looks into their professional achievements and how these have happened alongside the domestic tasks. This balance in their success in the public sphere and the mundane tasks of cooking and cleaning, lets the writer to explore how the collision of spheres has affected them personally and in their careers.

Articles which looked into connecting the personal aspects of a group and its relationship to sport are a final part of the analysis of this style. One example, again by Wilkes, who also contributed to the interview aspect of this type of writing, chose a 'feminine' approach to looking at the personal side of sport in her article on sportsmen's wives. In 'Wives who have to be Good Sports' she considers the how hard the women have worked in order to assist their husband's transition from professional success to retirement.⁸⁰ The activities and strength of the private realm of the family is privileged in the presentation of this relationship, as it is undertaken from the perspective of the wives. Even where a group is examined the emphasis is still centred on the intimate functioning of the family.

⁷⁷ Pitt-Kelly, F. (1989). The Ugly Drugs behind the Body Beautiful. *Independent*. 26 April. p. 15.

⁷⁸ Blue, A. (1987). This Woman is a Champion, Not a Wiggling Vamp. *Sunday Times*. 20 December. p. 21.

⁷⁹ Groome, A. (1977). The Amazing Dedication. p. 11.

Another example of how an exploration into the collective personal angle of a group can be seen in 'Cheered to the Skies' (1973). This is an article which focuses on a fan's perspective of a male professional football team. The writer travels with a group of fans to see what drives them to follow their team around Europe and asks what type of person does this.⁸¹ She discovers a wide cross section of people everyone from 'three millionaires' to 'Norma and Valerie, two bachelor girls in their twenties' and 'two boys from the Rolls Royce assembly line'.⁸² This type of writing fits in with the criteria Harris et al recommend in their text on newspaper reporting. His advice is to expand sports writing in this way to keep the news fresh to the reader because of the long season he fears all match reports will sound alike. They advocate the writer

needs the imagination to grasp the way people feel about their team with the pride they take in a victory by their team and their town.⁸³

This proposition is certainly fulfilled by McHarg's article in her insight into the amount of time, money and effort these fans have gone to in their love of the game. Her account of their experiences in following the team can only enhance the traditional type of pre/post-match report in the reader's enjoyment. This tactic of exploring the personal side of sporting life and the dreams, desires, motivations and goals towards a greater understanding of the people in sport was an aspect which was clearly important in their work.

'Profiles' of three sports stars are also done in this way; 'Tough Cookies: Martina Navratilova' (1986), 'Gold Man in a Hurry' (1982) (Alan Wells) and 'The Out of Love Match' (1982) (Steffi Graff and Gabriela Sabatini).⁸⁴ All three of these articles in the *Sunday Times* magazine differ from the direct personal life perspective, only on the basis that they are presenting them to the reader on the basis of their sporting achievements, however the focus is still more intimate towards the fundamentals of their personal characteristics. They all look at the difficulties in their sporting lives, for Navratilova it is how she has overcome the

⁸⁰ Wilkes, A. (1989). Wives who have to be a Good Sport. *Times*. 24 August. p. 7.

⁸¹ McHarg, S. (1973). Cheered to the Skies. *Observer*. 28 January. 22-5.

⁸² McHarg, S. (1973). *Ibid*. p. 23.

⁸³ Harris, G and Spark, D. (1966). *Practical Newspaper*. p. 273.

⁸⁴ Howell, G. (1986). Tough Cookies: Martina Navratilova. *Sunday Times*. 22 June. Magazine. pp. 42-4, 48; Rafferty, J. (1982). Gold Man in a Hurry. *Sunday Times*. 5 September. Magazine. p. 27; And Mott, S. (1988). The Out of Love Match. *Sunday Times* 19 June. Magazine. pp. 20-3.

emphasis on her sexuality and the 'masculine' strength of her game. For Wells it is how his own accomplishments have been 'overshadowed' by a feud between two other athletes in his field, Ovett and Coe and it is profiling his last chance to win gold at the European Athletic Championships. While for Graff and Sabatini it is about how these new rising tennis stars are breaking the mould from the traditional woman player. All speak to the reader directly as if conferring for their opinion on the situation. This is done by Mott in the last article by asking the reader 'shall we, should we, could we learn to love them too?'. The use of the word 'we' brings her closer to the reader implying a connection and a shared interest between them. This kind of question also serves to personalise the players and imply the reader has an important part in their acceptance and public image.

The implementation in this style of writing brings the personality of the athlete to life for the reader. This was the main purpose of another section in the *Sunday Times* magazine called 'Relative Values' which were interviews with sports people and a famous relative who speak about each other to the reader. It is a truly personal synopsis to let the reader into the intimate sphere of family life. For example father and daughter discuss each other in 'Critic and Cricketer: Dennis Potter and his Daughter Sarah talk to Susan Rower', where in 'Coe Partners: Record Breaking Athlete Sebastian Coe and his Coach Father Peter, talk to Angela Wilkes' the relationship is also a highly intimate nature. Even where the writer is a different person, like other similar styles in this newspaper they are generally reserved for women. The fact that the interviewer's voice does not intrude makes it the epitome of personal and intimate writing, which is defined as a 'feminine' style of writing in the first instance because it introduces the reader into the home and the family and second because the subjects are talking to each other giving a personal perspective. In both the 'personal life' and 'profile' style of writing, the writers show the person in sport is as an important theme in their work, as the facts of their sporting achievements, the records of which being the style which has traditionally dominated the sports pages.

As discussed above the second major format for revealing the 'personal' style is the biography. However, there is a tendency in many conventional biographies, including those

by some women, to detail the sporting feats and miss the connection between sporting life and personal voice. For example, Besford's biography *David Wilkie* (1976), written with Tony Long, follows the more traditional form and focuses on his achievements. The chapters are all based on tournament reviews such as 'Vienna: Gold and Silver but no Waltz'; the only exception is the second chapter 'Ceylon - The Carefree Days' which are about his background and childhood.⁸⁵ The biography in the traditional format used here, centres on public recognition and while there is reference to his background, thoughts and feelings, they are generally in relation to sports events. The factual accounts are not as privileged as their actions in the private sphere, that have formed the people who have achieved great feats in sport.

Kahn's biography on golfer Tony Jacklin, aims to understand the man and not just the player. Her motive is to explore the phenomenon of Jacklin, and to understand this man who was held up so high professionally for his sporting potential and then was deemed to fail in front of the eyes of the public. Her method to answer these questions is to ask 'just what did happen to Tony Jacklin'.⁸⁶ She continues by commenting on the variety of explanations and opinions surrounding his demise, which seek to understand the man behind the image. It is from an intimate point of view and the inference is that she is revealing the mystery of Jacklin. She refers to this saga as a 'story' and one that can not be lightly dismissed as she sees them as explaining 'the very heart and soul of a man who did what no other British golfer has ever done'.⁸⁷ This is evidence that her aim is not so much a celebration of his achievements as exploration of his personal make-up.

The focus on the effect of the personal life of the celebrity is also the main priority of St John in both her biographies, *Seve: The Biography* (1994) and *Greg Norman: The Biography* (1998). In both texts she recognises the importance of the private sphere on public sphere achievements. The back cover synopsis in *Seve* states she followed his life from childhood to professional success giving value to his background, who he was and how he came to

⁸⁵ Besford, P. (1976). *David Wilkie*. London: Kemps, p. Contents page.

⁸⁶ Kahn, L. (1979). *Tony Jacklin*. p. 6.

gain the championship status.⁸⁸ While the back cover of the Norman biography notes, she has 'painted the most comprehensive portrait yet of Norman's colourful career'.⁸⁹ The use of the term 'colourful' hints at her objective to bring the sterility of his achievements to life. It is apparent from St John's approach that the personal characteristics are a fundamental aspect of his career and that the private person and the public career can not be separated. The theme of St John's biographies is that she doesn't want to simply document the professional careers, but detail the men behind it.

The intimate side of Ballesteros is reflected in the chapters that focus on such aspects of his personal progress such as; 'The seeds of greatness' and 'Rebel with a cause', both of which are creative and literary rather than factual or date driven. They propose adventure on the part of the subject and innovation on the part of the writer and it is fitting such a creative and exciting champion should have a writer which reflects this. She opens, 'it was almost midnight when Severino Ballesteros, aged nine, stirred, stretched and cautiously pushed back the covers'.⁹⁰ It becomes obvious that St John is a storyteller and this is what makes her such a expert biographer, because she opens the book as if telling the reader a bed-time story. As the narrator, she does still follow a chronological theme, but with great literary flair. She uses personal insight alone to paint a portrayal of these subjects and suggests the power of this role for a woman as biographer. Her success at this is given critical acclaim, which can be seen in the covers of her later publications were laden with comments proclaiming the popularity and recognition of Seve. The declarations ranged from 'a highly readable examination of a life', and 'the most comprehensive analysis of any golfer in recent times', to it 'illuminates both the sunny and dark sides of the Spanish genius'.⁹¹ All are quotes from respected male sports writers of highbrow national papers and magazines demonstrating the extent of acceptance for her writing. The focus of the quotes illustrates her ability to entertain, as well as reveal the inside story of this highly public figure. All the reviews provided by others in the industry further represent her literary talent.

⁸⁷ Kahn, L. (1979). *Tony Jacklin*. p. 6. His achievements that no other British golfer had done was to win the Open Championship and the United States Open among others.

⁸⁸ St John, L. (1994). *Seve: The Biography*. London: Corgi Books. p. Back Cover.

⁸⁹ St John, L. (1998). *Greg Norman: The Biography*. London: Corgi Books.

⁹⁰ St John, L. (1994). *Seve*. p. 13.

St John probes into the background to create the drama and characters of the sport to invent the story of the game. Again there is a feeling in her writing that her non-fiction, should have the same responsibility to enrapture the reader and be as entertaining as if it were fiction. The style and tone that accompanies *Shooting at Clouds* (1991) is again demonstrative of St John's literary tone, with chapters more creative than factually led, her writing technique is pushing back the boundaries on documentary type sports writing. Chapters with names like 'Paradise lost' and 'Nomads' are evident of her aim to present an entertaining as well as informative text by focusing on words that create images.⁹² A further example of this was a review of her work, *Out of Bounds: Inside Professional Golf* (1995) by the judges of a sports book award who described her 'wit' and 'inventiveness' as making the reader want to read 'on...and on' and praising the text as containing 'honest, unpredictable and surprising observations of many stars of the game'.⁹³ It is a book led by the characters within it, presenting her observations of them in an entertaining and enlightening way.

The aim of *Shooting at Clouds* (1991) to reveal the personalities of the game, rather than present the account of the tour from the public point of view, is stated by St John as her own goal. It is her desire to write 'the stories of their lives' and go behind the glamour and understand the successful professional, as a person.⁹⁴ She intends to discover what makes them winners, what are their motivations, dreams and cares? She calls it an 'insider's view' of the personalities, the 'rebels and clowns, winners and losers on the PGA Tour'.⁹⁵ Her use of the terms 'rebels' and 'clowns' indicates the colour and life she brings to her writing and approach to reviewing what is often seen as a conservative and traditional Institution in the game of golf. Her focus on those in the game looks at everyone, from the 'superstars' like Norman and Ballesteros, to star's teachers like, David Leadbetter and Bob Torrance and even the top caddies. She does not consider any person with relation to the sport as insignificant, all their lives are subject to her 'examination'.⁹⁶ This wide scope of insight and allowances into the game establishes her authority to get access to and feel able to pass

⁹¹ St John, L. (1995). *Out of Bounds*. p. Back Cover.

⁹² St John, L. (1991). *Shooting at Clouds*.

⁹³ Six Authors in Search of Sport's Character. (1996). *Guardian*. 25 November, p. 19.

⁹⁴ St John, L. (1991). *Ibid*. p. 12.

⁹⁵ St John, L. (1991). *Ibid*. p. Inside Cover.

analysis and judgement on its inner workings. It is the people she wants to understand not the great shots which won a match, but what the person behind them was thinking. The people who are part of the game are more important, than the game itself as chapter three 'Lunatics, Criminals, Idiots, Charmers, Bastards and Exceptionally Nice People' demonstrates.

The women surveyed also noted the importance of the distinction between looking at the personal for the benefit of a new profile and being intrusive. Although the women agreed that going outside of sport in criminal matters was a relevant area for the sports reporter, this feeling did not extend to covering 'a scandal in a player's private life'. Table 14 and 15 below shows their response to the questions in these areas. Eight disagreed on some level that it was not appropriate to cover scandal, while four were uncommitted either way. This response is indicative that the desire to offer new perspectives is not intended to happen at the cost of individual privacy. It is a view of sports writing that is consistent with a description of what they should and should not cover in Glanville's *Still Looking for an Idiom* (1995), where he states 'lurid revelations' are not made by the sports writer, and are only of interest to the news reporter. He believes sports writers actually keep 'more secrets than they disclose'.⁹⁷ All the examples of this style discussed support this as the consent of the subject is given in all cases, whether interview format or biography. The common theme of this kind of writing was to present a different image of the public persona, not to destroy the right to confidentiality. The 'personal life' style is an enhancement of the way people in sport are written about and the benefits of the adding the personal to sporting voice is evident in the diversity it offers to the prospect of reporting. A move away from the traditional concentration on match reports and statistical data to finding out more about the people and issues behind sports was clearly an area favoured by women writers and their contribution to it can only have at the least enhanced its the development of the collective sporting voice.

⁹⁶ St John, L. (1991). *Shooting at Clouds*. p. Inside Cover.

⁹⁷ Glanville, B. (1995). *Still Looking for an Idiom*. p. 46.

Table 14: "Do you believe that it is a sports role to cover 'off the field' areas in sports such as scandal in a player's private life?"

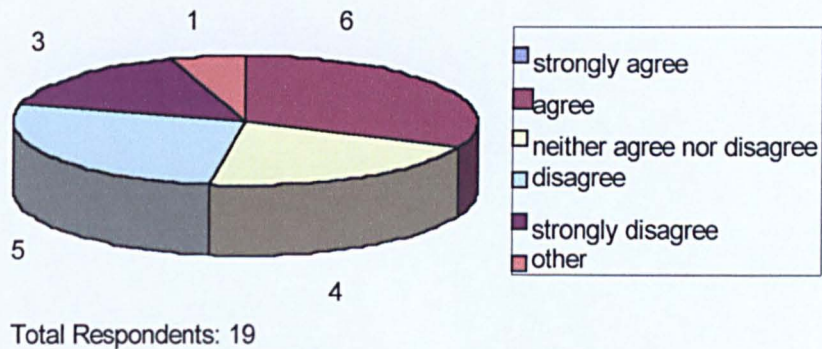
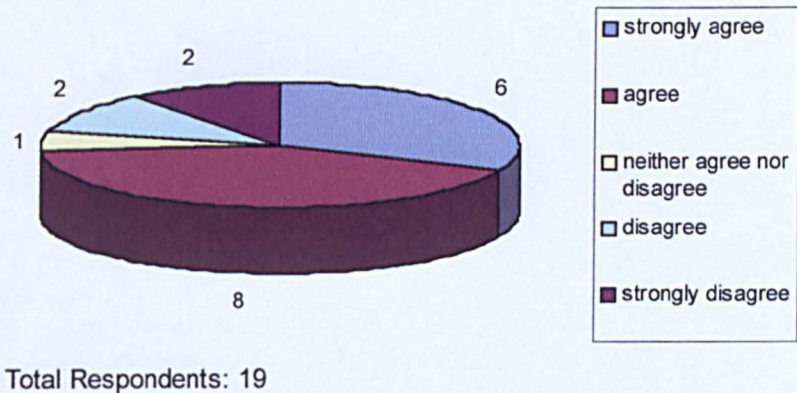


Table 15: "Do you Believe that it is a Sports Journalists Role to Cover 'Off the Field' Areas in Sports, such as Criminal Investigations related to Sports?"



The female voice has shown its ability to enrich the variety within sports writing through its focus on alternative views, however it is the potential power not only influence, but to challenge and change, which is the significant aspect of its contribution. The use of the 'personal' and exploration of the individual can be seen as a form of consciousness raising for those positioned as 'outsider' to the majority and mainstream realm. When considered in

this way the underlying aspects of their work in the biographical texts, inside stories and profiles becomes more consequential. By privileging the marginal voices in sports, women writers are challenging the traditional construction of the image of sport.

For most of the century women writers have been forced to contend with a suspicion about their capabilities to speak on sport. By highlighting the ways their voice has the capacity to complement and heighten the approaches of sports writing in this investigation it has intended to dispel the myths which have restricted them. This study has taken the opportunity to present the evidence in the hopes of challenging the limitations in those assumptions. The addition of a female discourse into the public domain of sports writing, has brought the missing aspect of the private sphere to enhance its realm. The 'outsider' in its processes of socialisation, has brought a new perspective to the traditional styles. When given the opportunity to speak the 'outsider' has brought forward the topics which were also conventionally on the exterior. Whether this has changed the shape of sports writing or whether alternating trends from within allowed new space for women, the fact is their input coincided and contributed to a widening of styles in the written approaches. The voices of women have begun to bring sports writing closer to its representation of all the people and all aspects of the human drama that is sport.



IMAGING SERVICES NORTH

Boston Spa, Wetherby
West Yorkshire, LS23 7BQ
www.bl.uk

**PAGE MISSING IN
ORIGINAL**

CONCLUSION:

Professional golfer Jack Nicklaus to Journalist Liz Kahn in 1994 after encountering her in a golf club locker room:

Nicklaus: 'what are you doing in here?'

Kahn 'Oh, working as a journalist'

Nicklaus: 'I don't care what you *think* you are, you're a *woman*.'¹

It was from a position of ignorance and intolerance that women entered a career in sports writing in the 20th Century. Continually defined by their gender, in both the work place and the print media, they were the invisible workers hidden and separated from the traditional sports pages. But this research has proven the existence of a small band of exceptional women.

Those who worked in the context of extreme sexism, disbelief about their personal capabilities and who fought to change the views that restricted them through their writing, as well as by acting as role models for other women. Throughout the century, there is evidence of a female sporting voice that evolved alongside the developing image of the sports woman. As the image of 'femininity' changed and women became more accepted in a physical role, their visibility in conventional sporting domains also progressed. Yet for every step forward, they still had to confront the restrictions of a highly gendered profession. The degree and the method differed, but the result was always the same - a battle for acceptance, respect and equality and one that the women highlighted in this study pursued with vigour. By looking beyond the conventional history and the recognised sports section, the achievements of these women can be seen and the female sporting voice finally heard.

The original aim of this research was to uncover the existence of women sports writers and reclaim the value of their contributions to sports writing. By doing so the intention was to expand the existing body of media history and its reflection on women writers. This was largely achieved through the discovery of a collection of their work that was unveiled through the analysis of the periodical and newspapers searches. It was this collation of articles by women that proved their existence and led to the development of a far greater understanding of not only their writing, but also their lives. During this part of the research their names

¹ Interview with Liz Kahn.

emerged and revealed a pattern of development. It was also the first sign of the reception of their work in the print media, which also reflected the social positioning of women. Their contributions clearly grew in conjunction with the second wave of feminism during the women's movement of the 1970s. The success of finding their work also answered many questions. Where previous feminist research had asked: why were there not more women sports writers, who could improve the representation of sports women in the press?, an examination of their work showed there were writers, but they were busy fighting their own cause for equality. The tracing of their names through a simple index showed so much more than proof of existence, it also gave vital clues to where their work was located. This was the second momentous finding of the search. By digging out each and every article, another trend soon arose and a further important conclusion was made, that they were invisible as writers because their writing was relegated in the press, as Table 11 indicates. The results of the periodical search showed that the writing which was uncovered faced its own gender problems. Like the sexist representations of sports women, they were separated from the arrangement of male sports writing in newspapers. Another discovery that was made through the analysis of the *British Humanities Index* and various newspaper searches, and one which also illustrated the highly gendered industry they worked within.

Once the research had established there were women sports writers to study, it could then ask why their work had been relegated and why it was so hard to locate. Chapter Two aimed to answer these questions to place them back in history and follow the reasons behind their successes and evolution. It did this by examining the names of women uncovered in the searches. In doing so the study was able to look at the key periods in their professional evolution and expose how women were hindered until they were able to overcome the assumptions of 'feminine' abilities. As the emergence 'new woman' began to inspire them to take a more active part in public life, this was reflected in their increase in journalism. It also investigated the main areas of concern for women, primarily in the limitations for training schemes and opportunities, where the traditional apprentice scheme meant the male dominated industry typically chose to pass on their knowledge to other men. It left women firmly outside of the established entry routes into the industry, a position from which they

never fully recovered. Left only with the difficulties of freelancing, as their predominant entrance to the profession and denied the equivalent methods of entrance and training, they could not hope to compete on the same basis. This position did not begin to alter until the women moved into the public sphere of work during both wars, this changed the way women viewed their right to employment, as they moved into new areas. Once again the positive steps forward were pushed back because of the backlash against women in work by the returning men. Yet from this period onwards a transition slowly occurred that would push women onto more success in the profession.

Regardless of the difficulties there were women who did find a way to get their writing published and in the process of highlighting how and where women found their way into the profession, one of the most interesting findings emerged, that the defining characteristics of those who were successful in the first half of the century varied to those in the second. As well as showing how Stringer, Helme, Thompson, Leitch, Wethered, Pollard and Heyhoe all began their careers, it illustrated that they built their careers on their experience as players. The ability to prove their capabilities as sports women, embodied them with an authority and credibility in writing on sports that helped them challenge the image of the non-sporting female. The concept of the 'Play to Write' debate was formed from this basis by comparing the backgrounds of the early writers, with those who emerged in the second part of the century, such as Welch, Kahn, Mott, Taylor, Thompson, Self, Rudd and St John all who formed careers with no sporting expertise and only a sporting interest to qualify them. This argument against women summarised how the fluctuations in the relationship between women and sport work for women. In particular how the inherently engendered print media, determined their success and progress in the profession. In brief, the application of this debate was that since women were not seen as sporting beings, an exceptional playing record was necessary to justify their authority in reporting on an event, but as this image changed so did the criteria of their authority.

As women challenged the constructions of 'femininity', the gender restrictions were removed from their capabilities as writers. From this time period they would begin to want access on

the basis on nothing more than their own desire to write and their love of sport. On the back of the second wave of feminism, they would challenge the limitations that had forced them to be on the periphery. This would see an increase in the amount of women writing on sport that would continue to grow into a more visible role in the 1990s, that would become the focus of valuable contemporary critiques like, *One of the Lads* (1997). Most significantly the women themselves were asked their opinion of the 'play to write' debate (Table 3 and Table 4) and their majority response against the need to have played the sports they covered demonstrated they valued their own skills as journalists first. It was through these capabilities they could eventually improve their visibility on the sports pages.

The research found that for most of the century, women in journalism were 'outsiders', regarded as 'intruders' or 'fair invaders' by both the industry and their male colleagues. This raised the question - how did the women identified by Chapter Two manage on a daily basis in light of this hostility? Chapter Three answered this question, by surveying the contemporary women uncovered, and by piecing together all possible biographical information on the earlier women. Their responses to such questions as 'Do you believe that sports journalism is a sexist profession?' (Table 5) gave them the chance to voice their feelings on the professions treatment of them. The result of this study was to show that women faced a constant struggle because of their gendered position as 'outsiders', a factor which transferred into all aspects of their occupational development. The juxtaposition of women to sport, not only influenced their ability to build a successful and recognised career, it also obstructed them in their daily working practices. Their definition, in opposition to male colleagues and associated sporting institutions, saw the creation of an 'insider' versus 'outsider' dichotomy, one that was not equal in its allocation. Where the 'masculine' image of strength and power was tied up in the construction of sporting prowess, their presence only served to destabilise this belief. As the 'outsider', women were continually questioned about their capacity and right to carry out the job, a factor which followed them into all areas of work. From the office to the sports field they would be faced with harassment and discrimination from male peers, officials and players. For example sports writers relied on access to contacts and events, and their lack of accreditation also saw them denied these

vital sources. From Heyhoe-Flint's and Welch's ban from press boxes, to Kahn's historic fight for access to areas of golf clubs during tournaments, and St John's confrontation with sexual harassment, while the sports world remained defined as a male preserve, these women would continue to face such discrimination.

The evidence of their experiences demonstrates that discrimination and difficulties in working practices would emerge from this foundation and its manipulation of biological differences. In comparison with women war correspondents it revealed women in both areas faced prejudice in their working relationships with colleagues, contacts and administrating officials. Yet the study did illustrate that women in sports writing had a harder time breaking onto the side lines of sport, than the war correspondents did in reaching the front line. Where war united the public and placed men and women on the same side against a common enemy, the women war correspondents found a place for themselves, much in the same way other women back home were finding new space in other traditional areas of employment. The situation was not the same in competitive sports, where the distinctions between men and women were not united by a common aim, despite an interest on both sides. Both did, however, suffer the same problems in gaining the necessary accreditation to do their jobs and allowing them vital access to places such as press boxes/camps, club houses, lockers rooms and other areas where contacts are conventionally interviewed. Women in both sectors overcome the bans that restricted them, with varying degrees of individual persistence and union support. But in addition to these complications they were also encumbered by the conception of 'feminine' responsibilities because of their relationship to the private sphere. The fact was that women in employment were also obliged to maintain the mechanics of family life, as the primary carers and undertakers of domestic duties of the home. These were additional concerns, not traditionally faced by their male colleagues and because of these issues the realities of working life for women in sport were particularly arduous. By bringing together the shared forms of their discrimination, the research can see the strength in the injustice of sexism against them.

To fight against such hardships and restrictions, the women that were studied were clearly exceptional women. But what were the qualities and factors that united them and equipped them for such conditions? The focus on their personal make-up and socialisation is the sole focus of Chapter Four and it produced some interesting conclusions, beyond the previous examination of contemporary women sports writers in Creedon's *Women, Sport and the Media* (1994) and Coddington's *One of the Lads* (1997). Considering the obstacles women were confronting in a career in sports writing, it was imperative to understand who they were in terms of their socialisation, education, training, family life, and sporting background and interest. What became immediately apparent is that their introduction to sport took place in their early lives in the home. Most were introduced to sports through their families. Taught to play and enjoy it with their brothers and sisters, by their mothers and fathers, sport became a normal and acceptable part of their lives from a young age, a belief they took with them into their adult aspirations. It was through this foundation that they were given the skills, confidence and love of sports to dispute the constraints they would later find placed against them. In addition it became apparent that although the degree of education and training varied, as the entry methods into the occupation changed, they were all educated, despite the fact only a few of the more contemporary women had actually been specifically trained in sports writing. As the 'play to write' debate above had indicated, some entered, with their sporting background as their basis for training, while others - significantly those after the 1970s - had their experience as supporters to enhance their knowledge in place of special training. Most often they had some degree of athletic experience combined with an interest as a fan, but all spoke passionately of their love of sport as the most inspiring aspect of how they came to write on it. This common bond on their interests linked all the women and gave them the means to forge a way forward in a hostile industry.

However one of the most significant conclusions in studying the history of women sports writers was the collection of the writing uncovered. The physical evidence of a body of writing is no better way to repel the image that there was no female sport voice. By widening the remit of analysis to the whole paper, journals and books their voice began to emerge. The alternative canon of sports writing did so much more than prove their existence; it was

also a way to study what their voice was saying. In Chapters Five and Six the collection took on another meaning as it was the basis of a way to hear and analyse the sporting voice, and finally allow an examination of the goals, aims and themes of their writing. While Chapter Five showed how the relegation of their voice in highly gendered newspapers could actually be re-created as an alternative canon of writing, Chapter Six presented evidence that the 'outside' location of the female voice, actually had the power to enrich traditional sports writing by bringing a new perspective. But it was the simple, yet lengthy process, of finding their work which led to the formation of a greater understanding of the women sports writers.

Where Section One uncovered the invisible woman, Section Two considered the effects of the female sporting voice. Chapter Five discusses how in looking for their work it soon became clear that it was not to be found in the conventional sports section of the newspapers, but instead its location in other areas of the newspaper, like the women's page, alternative sports section, supplements and magazines identified that it operated as an alternative canon of sports writing. Where women had been relegated in their attempts to access the profession, their exile had transferred physically into the location of their writing. Their gender defined their work as female and this created the assumption in the press that their writing was only of interest to other women. However this chapter looked beyond the problems and considers the benefits the alternative locations could offer women writers. While their narrative was not included in the traditional sporting voice, they had still found a way for their views to be heard. The distance from the traditional sporting constructions allowed them to use the opportunity to begin to dispute the concept that women were not capable of being sporting beings. From this area the sporting discourse of women emerged, one which incorporated the issues for women in sport which were missing from the conventional pages, such as coverage of results, lack of coverage of and women's sporting events of women's sports, discrimination against their participation in certain sports and the way the concept of 'feminine' ideals prevented them from being accepted as successful at sports. The research indicated that one of the strongest themes in their work, particularly among the early writers who were ex-players, was to pass on their knowledge and expertise to literally coach the reader in the pursuit of their sport. This gave them the chance to raise

ideas and topics regarding their abilities and achievements to contest the notions that were held against them.

Chapter Six also looks beyond the negative aspect of the location of women's writing to ask did it have the potential to offer a different perspective from the conventional styles of sports writing? The data collated in Appendix 7 and Appendix 8 show that their writing contains a tendency for certain trends of writing which focused on a more 'human' and 'personal' aspect of writing, styles which were not part of the traditional statistical approach or match reports that dominated the sports pages. While these conventional styles would remain its main stay, the sports section would eventually open up to wider types of writing which included the more personal approach of women. In addition they brought minority sports, sporting heroines, and a sporting history for women into view, which enriched the conventional sporting voice that had traditionally not included it. As the strength of the female perspective grew from 'outside' the sports section, it eventually elevated itself to a status of acceptance that allowed the 'outsider' to become the 'insider'. This was the true measure of the success women finally had, in Mott's interviews on male celebrities, Taylor's match reports and St John's inside stories, by taking on the role of the 'insider' they proved a new equality in the female voice. It was clear that their role as 'outsiders' meant they came to write on sports in a different manner and as a result they did, offer an alternative view from the established and inherently male perspective. In the eleven years that have past outside of the remit of this study women have taken even greater strides in bringing the 'outsider' view into the forefront of the sports media. *The Sun* now has regular women correspondents, who write on the top matches and events. The revolution of round the clock sports news on Sky Television has seen the introduction of regular women sports news readers. Most regional Television and Radio stations have women journalists on the sports desks, as reporters, editors and presenters. But in searching backwards and finding the past, this research will allow future studies to examine the contemporary situation and the increased visibility of women at this time with greater understanding.

What began as an investigation to recover missing voices from the history of sports writing, also uncovered the role the female voice had played in the sporting expression. From finding the pioneering the achievements of Stringer and Helme, to the fights for equality from Welch, Kahn and St John or the final triumph in breaking through the acceptance barrier with Taylor, Mott and Self, this thesis records and gives value to their work and their lives. The prejudice which had led to ignorance in their abilities and interests had a devastating effect on the way they were able to build their careers, but by overcoming the obstacles, they found a way to challenge the gender restrictions. This investigation exposes how the manipulation of biological sex differences have determined the position of women in sport and the wide-reaching effect this can have on all the corresponding areas. By reinstating the voice of this minority, understanding the process of its discrimination, and breaking down the normality of the restrictions, the 'invisible' women and their 'hidden' voices have become distinguishable and valid contributions to the human sporting voice.

LIST OF TABLES:

	Page No.
Table 1: Overall Style of Sports Articles Written by Women	49
Table 2: The Increase of Sports Covered in the <i>Observer</i> Broken Down by Sex Distinctions.	53
Table 3: "Do You Think that Sports Journalists Need to have Played the Sports that they Cover?"	103
Table 4: "Would You Agree that 'Expertise' in Journalism is more Important than 'Expertise' in Sports?"	104
Table 5: "Do You Believe that Sports Journalism is a Sexist Profession?"	120
Table 6: How Women Journalists were Employed for the 1996 Olympics	146
Table 7: Gender of British Journalists at the 1996 Olympics.	146
Table 8: "Are You a Member of a Trade Union? If so which One?"	153
Table 9: "What Training did You Undertake to Become a Journalist?"	164
Table 10: "Before Entering the Profession did You have an Interest in Sport?"	166
Table 11: Location of Articles by Women in the Periodical Search.	176
Table 12: Break down of Articles in Newspaper Supplements in the Periodical Search.	177
Table 13: Break down of Articles in Journals in the Periodical Search.	192
Table 14: "Do You Believe that it is a Sports Journalists Role to Cover 'off the Field' areas in Sports such as Scandal in a Players Private Life?"	251
Table 15: "Do You Believe that it is a Sports Journalists Role to Cover 'off the Field' areas in Sports such as Criminal Investigations Related to Sports?"	251

List of Appendices:

	Page No.
1. Organisations Contacted.	266 - 267
2. Association of Golf Writers Minutes:	268
2.1 Extracts of Minutes of Meeting of the AGW October 1958.	
2.2 Extracts of Meeting between the AGW and the PGA European Tour, Caledonian Club January 27, 1991.	
3. National Union of Journalists:	
3.1 Extracts of Discussions between the NUJ and the NPA on the "Sex Question" and payments for Women Journalists. December 31, 1917.	269
3.2 NUJ 1972 Conference - The Extracts of Motion that established the ADM Committee of Equality.	270
4. List of Women in the Print Media 1917.	271
5. Institute of Journalists:	272
5.1 Roles of Women Employed in Journalism 1938.	
5.2 Breakdown of Gender in the IOJ 1938.	
6. Questionnaire Information:	
6.1. List of Respondents.	273
6.2. Sample Questionnaire.	274 - 276
6.3. "How would you Define your Professional Status? A Sports Journalist or Journalist without Specifications?"	277
6.4. "How do you Define your Role?"	277
6.5. "Do you Agree that 'Sports Journalism' is a Separate Profession in Journalism which Requires its own Codes of Conduct and Ethics?"	278
7. The <i>Observer</i> Search:	
7.1. Individual Sports Covered - By Gender.	279
7.2. 1908 -1948 Style of Sports Articles.	280 - 281
7.3. 1956 -1988 Style of Sports Articles.	282 - 283
7.4. 1908 - 1988 Number of Sports Articles Covered.	284 - 289

8. Periodical Index Search 1914 - 1992.	
8.1. Newspapers Analysed.	290
8.2. Number of Sports Articles Covered by Women.	290
8.3. Style Analysis.	
8.3.1. Gender Breakdown of Style of Articles written by Women	291
8.3.2. Styles of Articles written by Women - by Decade.	292
8.4. Sports Coverage Analysis by Decades	
8.4.1. Part One: 'Traditional' Sports Covered by Women.	292
8.4.2. Part Two: Non-Traditional Sports Covered by Women.	293
8.4.3. Part Three: Sporting Issues Covered by Women.	293
8.5. Sports Coverage Analysis by Gender.	
8.5.1. Part One: 'Traditional' Sports Covered by Women.	294
8.5.2. Part Two: Non-traditional Sports Covered by Women.	295
8.5.3. Part Three: Sporting Issues Sports Covered by Women.	296
9. Biographical Details of Women Writing on Sport.	297 - 302

LIST OF ORGANISATIONS CONTACTED:

Australian Broadcasting Corporation	International Association of Women
ABC FM stereo	Sports Photographers
American Society of Newspaper	International Press Institute
Editors	ITV - The Network Centre
Country Women of the World	Laser Sales
Association of American	London Weekend Television
Correspondents in London	Manchester Institute for Popular
Association of British Editors	Culture
Australian Film ,Television and Radio	McCarthy, Wendy
School	Media Monitors
Australian Journalists Association	Media society
Australian Liquor, Hospitality &	Miller, Anne (Honolulu Advertiser)
Miscellaneous Workers Union	National Alliance of Women's
Australian Newspaper Council	Organisations
Australian Press Council	National Association of Press
BBC - Information and Archives	Agencies
Birmingham Press Club	National Council for Voluntary
Black Women's Media Network	Organisations
British Association of Journalists	National Council of Women of Great
Broadcasters Audience Research	Britain
Board	national Newspaper Association
Broadcasting, Entertainment,	National Press Club
Cinematography and Theatre Union	National Union of Journalists
Broadcasting Standards Council	NCTH Training LTD
Campaign for Press & Broadcasting	New Ways to Work
Freedom _ Women's Section	Newspaper Publishers Association
Carlton UK Sales	Newspaper Society
Central Statistics Library	Paradigm (World-wide) Ltd
Centre for Journalism	Press Complaints Commission
Commonwealth Journalists	Research Services Ltd
Association	Rights of Women
Commonwealth Press Union	RTS History and Archive Specialist
Crawford, Elizabeth	Group
Deshayes, Pierre	Scottish Sports Council
Equal Opportunities Commission for	Sky Sports
Northern Ireland	Society of Women Writers and
Equal Opportunities Commission	Journalists
European Journalism Training	Sports Writers Association of GT
Foreign Press Association in London	Britain
FourFourTwo magazine	The Advertising Association
Golf Writers Association	The Centre for Sports Science and
Glasgow Women's Library	History
Goal Magazine	The Fawcett Library
Hargreaves, Jennifer	The Feminist Archives
Ho, Robin	The Feminist Library
Hunter, Fred	The Football Association
Institute of journalists	

The Foreign Press Association in
London
The Newspaper Guild
The Sports Council
The Women's Communication Centre
(and What Women Want Campaign)
UK Press Gazette
Women & Sport Unit
Women In Film and Television
Women in Journalism
Women Sports Foundation
Women's Media Resource Project
Women's National Commission
Women's Radio Group
Women's Research & Resources
Centre Library

Appendix 2

2.1: EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF MEETING OF THE AGW - OCTOBER 1958.

October 1958:

At a committee meeting held at the Notts Golf Club, Hollinwell, on October 1958, it was reported that a Mr Barry Armstrong was present at this tournament (the Dunlop Masters) having been assigned to it by the Irish Times. It was stated (a) that Mr. Armstrong had recently retired from the Regular Army in which he served as Lt Col., (b) that he was not attached to any newspaper or journalistic organisation, (c) that he was not known to be a practising journalist, and (d) that the usual mainland golf correspondent of the Irish Times, Miss Betty Debenham, a member of the Association, was present at Hollinwell and prepared to do the work.

The committee agreed unanimously that the Secty be instructed to communicate these facts the National Union of Journalists, register a strong protest at the action of the Irish Times, and request the N.U.J to take action in the matter.

Note: Subsequently, following correspondence with the N.U.J. the Secty of the Association was informed by the N.U.J. that the Dublin Branch had taken up the matter with the Irish Times and had received an assurance that there would be no recurrence of this situation.

2.2 EXTRACT OF MEETING BETWEEN THE AGW AND THE PGA EUROPEAN TOUR, CALEDONIAN CLUB - JANUARY 27, 1991.

"Mr Williams said he welcomed the opportunity to raise topics at the now annual gathering and wanted first to raise the issue brought to the Associations attention by Mrs Elizabeth Kahn who wanted equal access to the men's locker rooms as her male colleagues. Mr Scholfield said that professional people reporting events should have access to the players but that the gentlemen's locker room was in fact that. Mr Williams said that the A.G.W. badge gave access to the clubhouse but that during events members of the Association were honorary members of the club and had to abide by the club rules. The R. and A. had indicated they would be doing so when the matter of Mrs Kahn's access had been raised with them. Mr Laidlaw raised the question of access to the player's lounge and Mr O'Grady said that this area was for the players but that by invitation they could take anyone in they wished. Mr Platts said he had been invited into the player's lounge to speak with a player. Mr Richardson said that there was a case for suggesting that women reporters should be made aware that if they were needing to contact a player in the locker room they could ask a P.G.A. official or the press officer to help her make contact. Above all we needed guidelines. Mrs Kahn had raised the matter but in future there would be other lady reporters who might be of similar mind as Mrs Kahn. We needed to make it clear what the rules were. Mr Platts said that we should deal with quickly to avoid it becoming a long drawn out saga. Mr Shofield said that her rights should be the same as any other journalists but despite the fact that she is apparently at a disadvantage by not having equal access to the men's locker room as her male colleagues, the Tour could not help her or pass special rules for her. Mr Blighton agreed. Mr Laidlaw said that he had suggested to Mrs Kahn that the clubhouse was still available and the press centre lounge area for discussion with players. It was Mrs Kahn be told that the gentlemen's locker room would remain out of bounds to women but that (1) she or any other reporter could go into the players' lounge by invitation, could use the clubhouse and could use the press centre for interviews and that there were considerable additional hospitality areas usually available in the tented village. If she or anyone else needed help in locating a player they could approach a P.G.A. official or the press officer for assistance.

Appendix 3

3.1: EXTRACTS OF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE NUJ AND THE NPA ON THE "SEX QUESTION" AND PAYMENTS FOR WOMEN JOURNALISTS - DECEMBER 31, 1917.

Mansfield to NPA (newspaper Proprietors Association) letter Dec 31, 1917

"Letter of Dec 31, 1917, thanked the N.P.A. for its prompt action, but asked for clarification of points in the following memorandum, and offered, as the sex question had been raised, to include a woman in a suggested deputation.'

"WOMAN JOURNALIST. - This clause raises a vast issue, altogether out of proportion to the practical matters needing our immediate attention. The sex question in this critical form has never before been raised in journalism. We suggest that it should not and need not be raised now. Our aim should be to settle this matter on business lines, not political. Women, we presume, have been engaged in journalism not as women, but because they were journalists qualified for the particular class of work for which they were engaged. Most of them in normal times, fall into the classification of "ancillary services". To that extent the problem solves itself. We are left to deal with women who are general reporters or sub-editors, probably not more than 12 or 14 on all the London newspapers. Surely it is possible for employers to deal with these cases on the principle of equal pay for the same class of work. No trade union or professional body has ever yet been seriously asked to surrender that sound economic principle. Where a woman has been engaged as a general reporter or sub-editor, and is being continued in that position, her work ought to entitle her to the same minimum salary as a man similarly classified. "Diversity in experience, knowledge and duties" applies to all journalists alike, men and women. There is no dividing line of sex governing journalistic ability. In each case an employer has the right to decide whether or not a person engaged is qualified for the work to be undertaken. By deleting this clause you leave that right undisputed. By insisting on its retention you provoke new discontent, you raise a vast political issue, you do an injustice to the whole body of women journalists, and you open the door to cheap and dangerous labour which may drive more efficient men out of journalism and so degrade the whole profession. This barring clause does not solve a problem; it raises a greater one. You will see, therefore, that the matter cannot reasonably rest where it is. We recognise that there may be difficulties in certain individual cases, but we believe that in a friendly discussion specifically devoted to this problem it would be possible to find a mutually satisfactory solution."¹

¹ Mansfield, F.J. (1943). *Gentlemen, the Press! Chronicles of a Crusade. (Official History of the National Union of Journalists)*. London: W.H. Allen & Co. p. 232.

3.2 NUJ 1972 CONFERENCE - THE EXTRACTS OF MOTION THAT ESTABLISHED THE ADM COMMITTEE OF EQUALITY

National Union of Journalists, 1972 Conference. The Motion that established the ADM Committee on Equality:

"This ADM, while recognising the lead given by the NUJ over equal pay for women, instructs the NEC to arrange talks with editors' and employers' organisations to secure fair treatment for women journalists in practice as well as in theory by:

1. True equality of opportunity of entrance to the profession and recognition of the equal right to work, including admission to the NCTJ's pre-entry training scheme and abolition of the present 25 per cent quota for women in that scheme.
2. Equality of promotion in all fields of journalism and an end to the policy of paying lower rates to women journalists.
3. The inclusion of maternity leave and benefits in all agreement with the employers.
4. Abolition of all anomalies over conditions of work, including pension schemes and retirement age.

This ADM also decides that an ad hoc committee be set up from among delegates to this conference to investigate discrimination against women journalists and to report to next year's ADM.¹

¹ (1984). *ADM Committee on Equality*. National Union of Journalist.

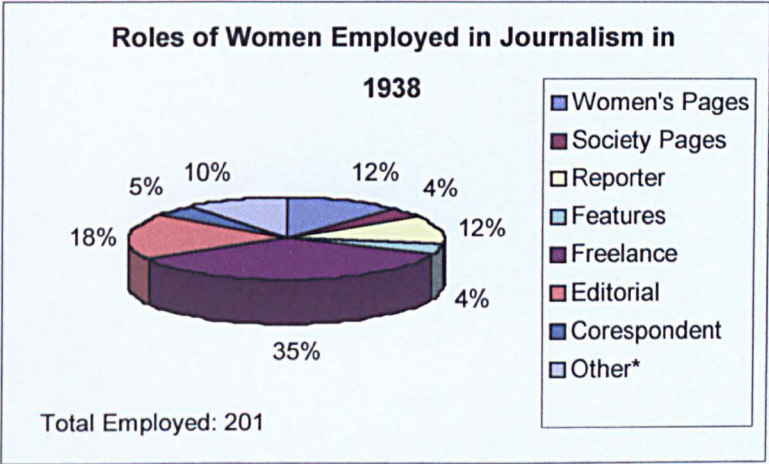
LIST OF WOMEN JOURNALISTS IN 1917¹:

Broomfield, Mrs.	Owner of the <i>Sporting Life</i> . Widow of late Wm. Macfarlane, now Mrs Broomfield whose husband W.E. Broomfield is noted as running the paper.
Barr, Amelia E.	Contributor to <i>Sunday School Chronicle</i> .
Beer, Rachel Mrs.	Editor of the <i>Sunday Times</i> .
Brown, Maud.	Editor of <i>Home Chat</i> , <i>Boy's Own Paper</i> .
Crawford, Mrs.	Contributor to <i>Truth</i> .
Fish, Miss.	'Eve' drawings in <i>Tatler</i> .
Fletcher, Jessica.	Librarian of <i>Daily News</i> . Daughter of editor A.E. Fletcher.
Gill, R.C. Miss.	With <i>Bazaar</i> , <i>Exchange & Mart</i> .
Head, Alice.	Editor <i>Women at Home</i> and <i>Girl's Realm</i> .
Humphry, Mrs.	Of <i>Truth</i> .
Keary, Miss.	Editor of <i>Home Notes</i> .
King, Miss.	With <i>Bazaar</i> , <i>Exchange & Mart</i> .
Klickman, Flora.	Editor of <i>Girl's Own Paper</i> and <i>Women's Magazine</i> .
Linton, Mrs Lynn.	Contributor to <i>Globe</i> .
Martineau, Harriet.	Association with <i>Athen Own</i> .
Philpot, Mrs.	Editor of <i>Women's World</i> and <i>Family Journal</i> .
Stoddart, Jane T.	Assistant Editor of <i>British Weekly</i> .
Tynan, Katherine.	Contributor to <i>British Weekly</i> .
Warboise, Emma Jane.	Contributor to <i>Christian World</i> .

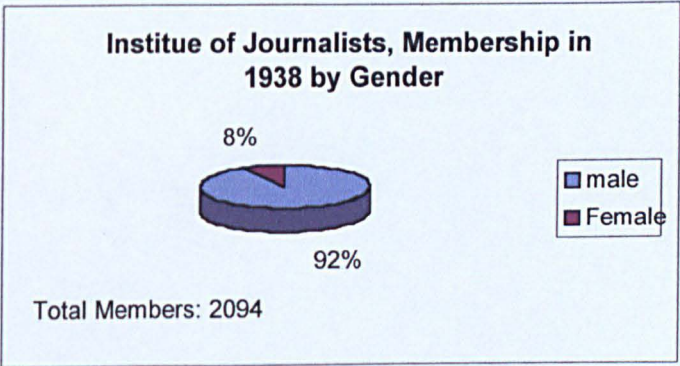
¹ List created from references to women in Simonis, H. (1917). *The Street of Ink: An Intimate History of Journalism*. London: Cassell & Company Ltd.

The descriptions are based upon how the women are listed in the text.

5.1: IOJ - ROLES OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN JOURNALISM IN 1938.



5.2 BREAKDOWN OF GENDER IN THE IOJ - 1938



Information collated from the IOJ *Grey Book* 1938.

6.1 LIST OF RESPONDENTS:

Anon x 2

Ashton, Zoe

Burgess, Joanne

Crawford, Lesley

Crowther, Nicky

Davies, Patricia

Harris, Cathy

Heyhoe-Flint, Rachel

Ingram, Kath

Joint, Laura

Kelly, Angela

Lonsbrough, Anita

Mott, Sue

Price-Fisher, Elizabeth

St John, Lauren

Self, Janine

Taylor, Louise

Thompson, Laura

6.2 SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRES:

Name:

Please feel free to answer the questions as long or brief as you would like. If you have any additional comments to make, you are welcome to continue on extra paper.

1. Please detail your career progression to date: (i.e.: Publication, employer, freelance or staff).

2. What training did you undertake to become a journalist?

3. How important do you view training to the status of the profession?

4. Did you have any specific or additional training to become a sports journalist?

5. How would you define your professional status? **A sports journalist or a journalist without specifications.** (Please circle appropriate)

6. How do you define your role: (Please circle appropriate)

Journalist Writer Reporter Author Columnist Other:

7. Do you agree that: 'Sports Journalism is a separate profession in journalism, which requires its own codes of conduct and ethics'. (Please circle appropriate)

Strongly Agree Agree Neither agree nor Disagree Disagree Strongly Disagree

8. Before entering the profession, did you have an existing interest in sport? (Please circle appropriate)

Professional Athlete Amateur Athlete Regular Supporter Occasional Supporter No Previous Interest Other:

9. How much time do you spend on sports outside of work, either as a participator or spectator?
10. Do you write only on sports or in other areas of journalism also? Please advise which other areas are covered.
11. As a sports journalist which sports do you cover? Please detail the type of coverage and the level of sport covered?
12. Would you agree that 'expertise' in journalism is **more** important than 'expertise' on sports. (Please circle appropriate)
- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Strongly Agree</i> | <i>Agree</i> | <i>Neither agree nor Disagree</i> | <i>Disagree</i> | <i>Strongly Disagree</i> |
|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
13. Do you think that sports journalists need to have played the sports that they cover?
- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Strongly Agree</i> | <i>Agree</i> | <i>Neither agree nor Disagree</i> | <i>Disagree</i> | <i>Strongly Disagree</i> |
|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
14. How would you describe the professional status of sports journalists?
15. Does this differ from your opinion on the profession of journalism in general?
16. Do you believe that sports journalism is a sexist profession?
- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Strongly Agree</i> | <i>Agree</i> | <i>Neither Agree nor Disagree</i> | <i>Disagree</i> | <i>Strongly Disagree</i> |
|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|

Additional comments:

17. Are you a member of a Trade Union? If so which one?

18. If a Trade Union member, have you ever sought their help in a career matter. If so what was the issue and the outcome?

19. Do you believe that it is a sports journalists role to cover 'off the field' areas in sports, such as :

Scandal in a player's private life

<i>Strongly Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither agree nor Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>
---------------------------	--------------	---------------------------------------	-----------------	------------------------------

Or criminal investigations related to sports?

<i>Strongly Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither agree nor Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>
---------------------------	--------------	---------------------------------------	-----------------	------------------------------

20. What qualities do you believe are necessary to be a successful sports journalists?

21. In America, it has been argued that women in sports journalism bring out a different 'more human' side to the sports pages. Could this be an issue in British Sports journalism

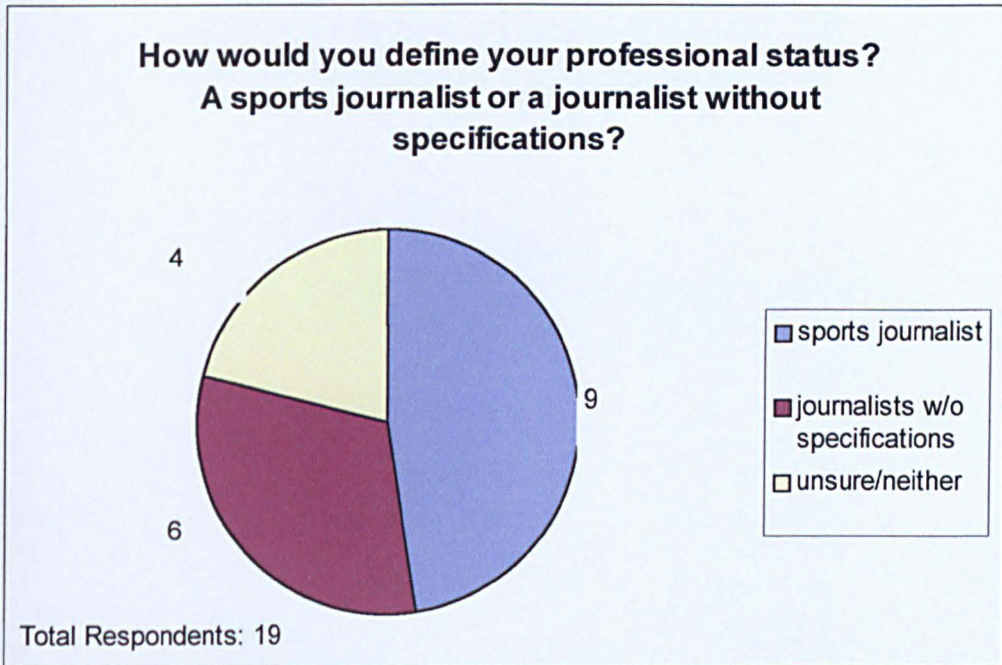
22. British Sports Journalism, in particular the tabloid press, has been accused of building up sporting hero's in order to knock them down again. Is this a fair criticism?

Please indicate here if you would be interested in taking part in a more personal interview, either in person or over the phone?

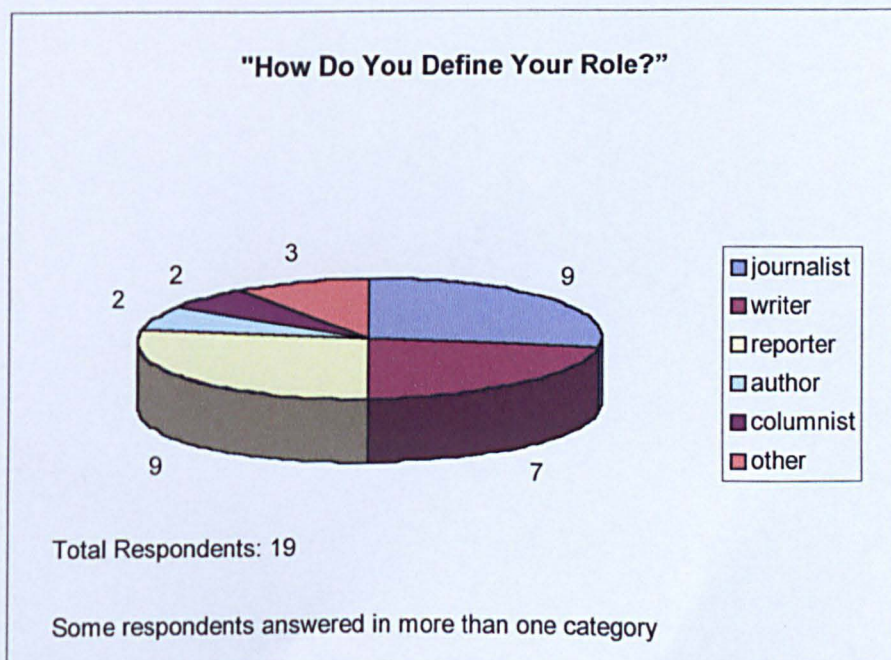
Yes: No:

Appendix 6

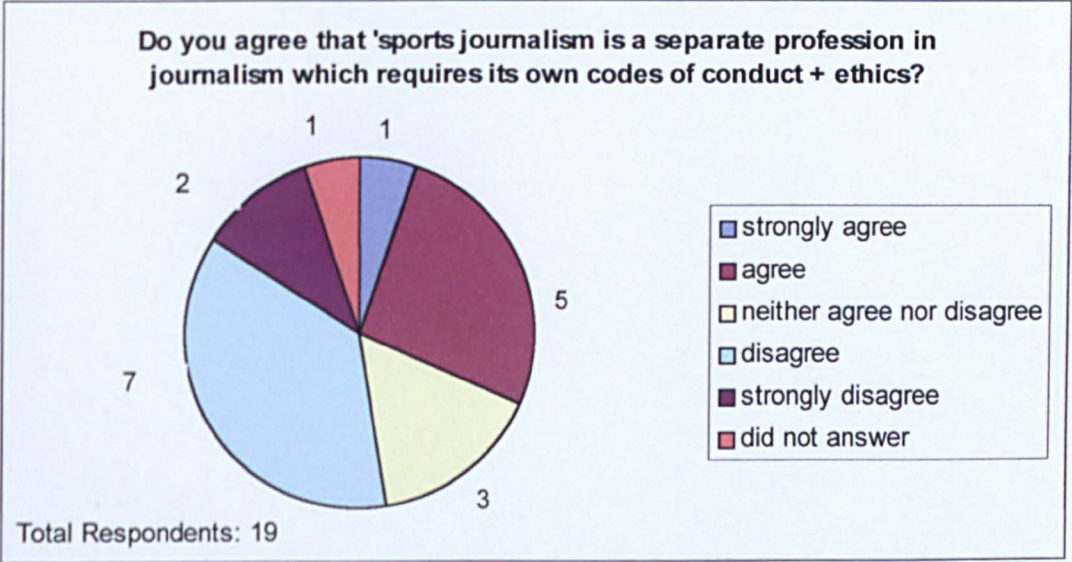
6.3: "HOW WOULD YOU DEFINE YOUR PROFESSIONAL STATUS? A SPORTS JOURNALIST OR A JOURNALIST WITHOUT SPECIFICATION"



6.4: "HOW DO YOU DEFINE YOUR ROLES?"



6.5: “DO YOU AGREE THAT ‘SPORTS JOURNALISM’ IS A SEPARATE PROFESSION IN JOURNALISM WHICH REQUIRES ITS OWN CODES OF CONDUCT AND ETHICS?”

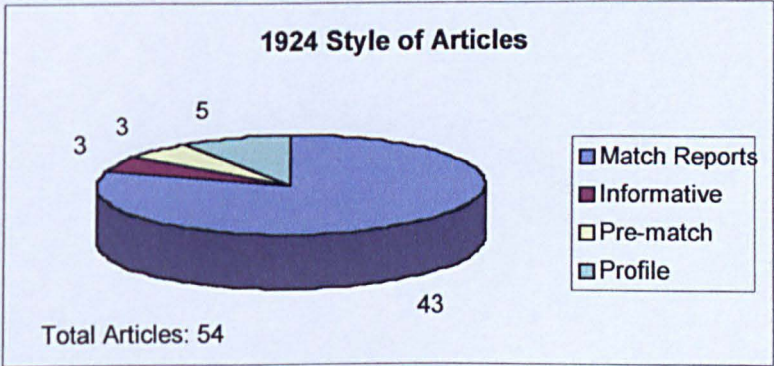
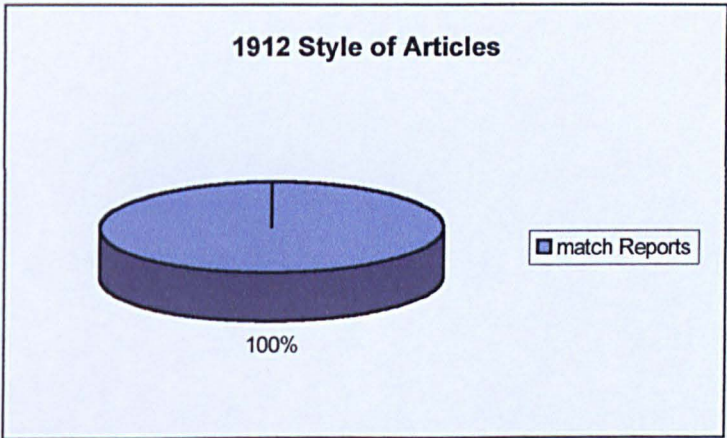
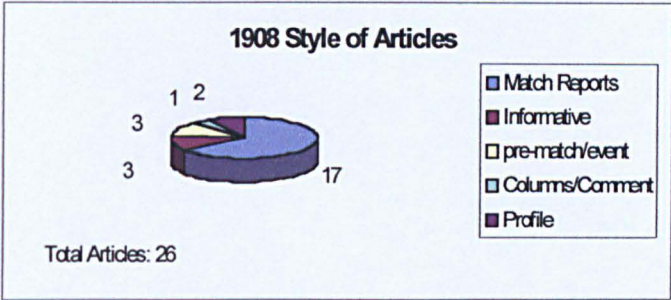


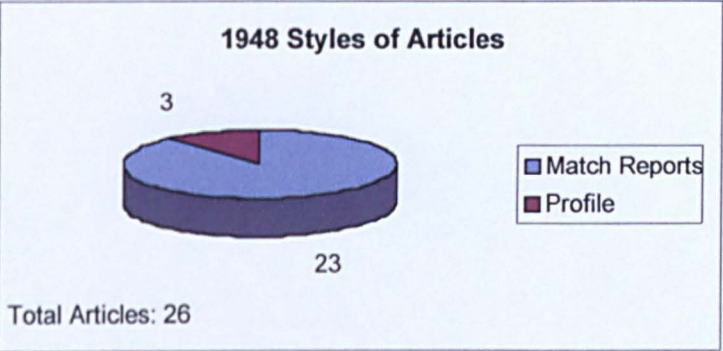
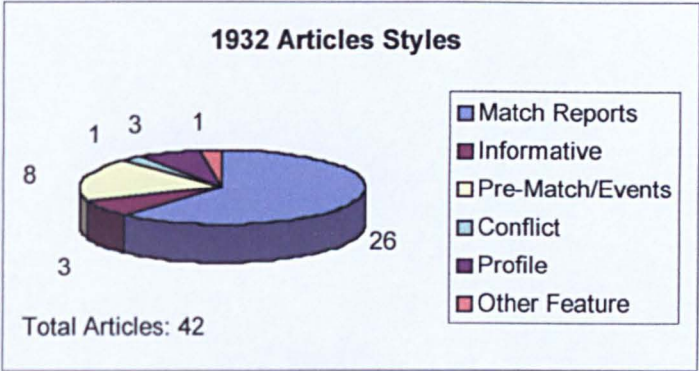
APPENDIX 7.1: INDIVIDUAL SPORTS COVERED BY GENDER

Year	Male Sports			Female sports	Mixed Gender Sports
1908	Athletics Billiards Cricket Golf Football Hockey	Horse Racing Lacrosse Polo Rowing Rugby Tennis		None	Dog Show Golf Tennis
1916*	Billiards			None	None
1924	Angling Athletics Billiards Boxing Motor Racing Chess Cricket	Cross-Country Cycling Fencing Football Golf Hockey	Horse Racing Lacrosse Rowing Rugby Weight-lifting Yachting	Tennis	Golf Olympics Tennis
1932	Badminton Bowls Boxing Cricket Cross-Country Fencing	Football Golf Horse Racing Lacrosse Polo River Sports	Rowing Rugby Tennis Yachting	None	Badminton Croquet Figure Skating Olympics Rollerskating Swimming Tennis
1948	Athletics Basketball Cricket Cross-Country Fencing Football	Golf Hockey Horse Racing Rugby		Cricket	Hockey Tennis Olympics Winter Sports
1956	Athletics Cricket Football Squash Hockey	Horse Racing Rowing Olympics Tennis		None	Athletics Lacrosse Olympics
1964	Athletics Boxing Cricket Football Golf	Horse Racing Motor Racing Rowing Rugby		Athletics	Hockey Olympics Sailing Show Jumping Table Tennis Tennis Yachting
1972	Boxing Cricket Cycling	Football Horse Racing Rugby		Athletics Hockey	Olympics Tennis
1980	Athletics Boxing Climbing Cricket Cross-Country	Darts Golf Football Motor Racing Yachting		Athletics Gymnastics Show Jumping	Marathon Olympics Rowing Swimming
1989	Football Golf Hockey Horse Racing Rugby Tennis			None	Athletics Badminton Cross-Country

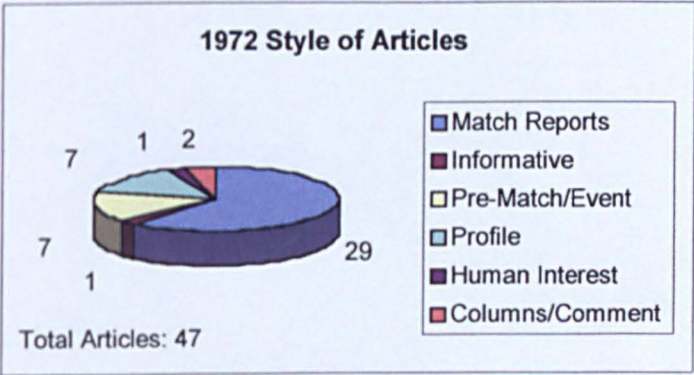
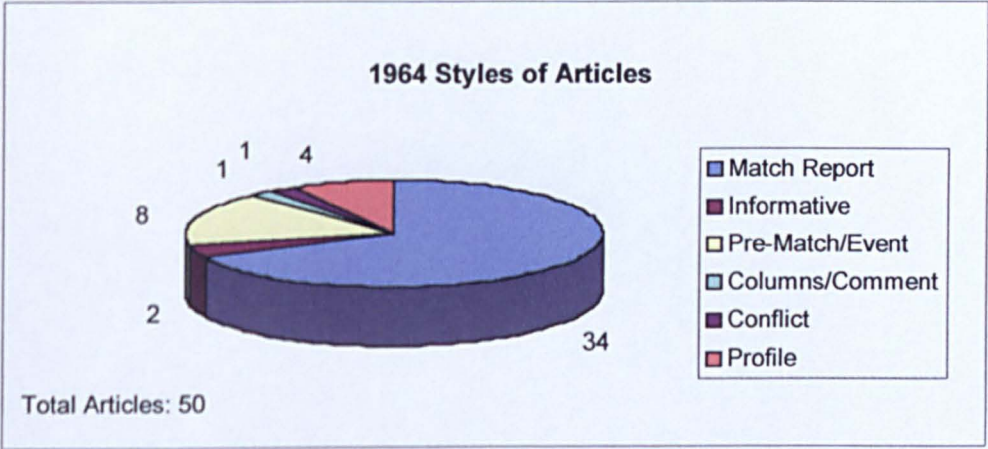
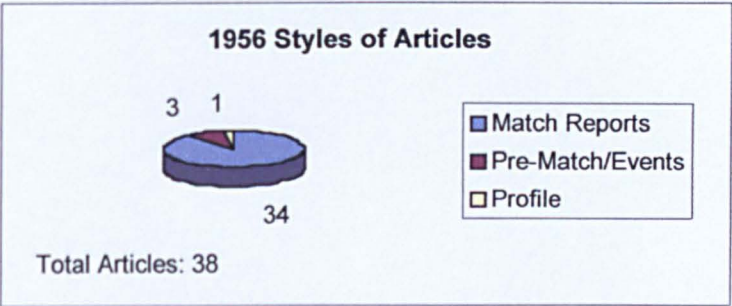
* Reduced Coverage because of the First World War.

7.2: 1908 - 1932 STYLE OF SPORTS ARTICLES IN THE OBSERVER.

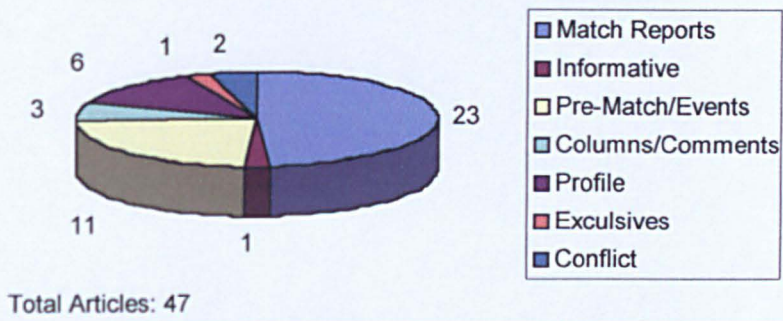




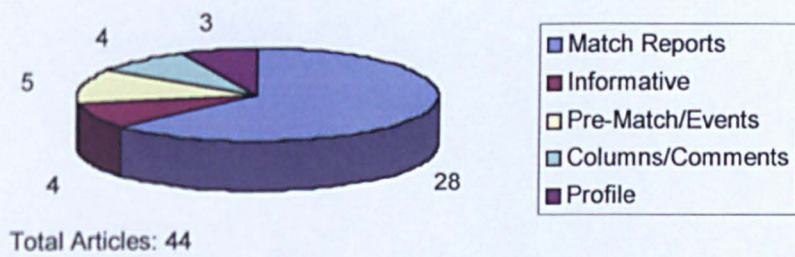
APPENDIX 7.3: 1956 - 1988 STYLE OF SPORTS ARTICLES IN THE OBSERVER.



1980 Style of Articles

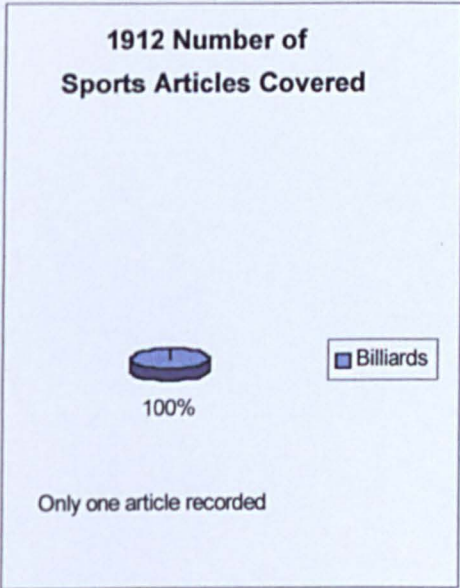
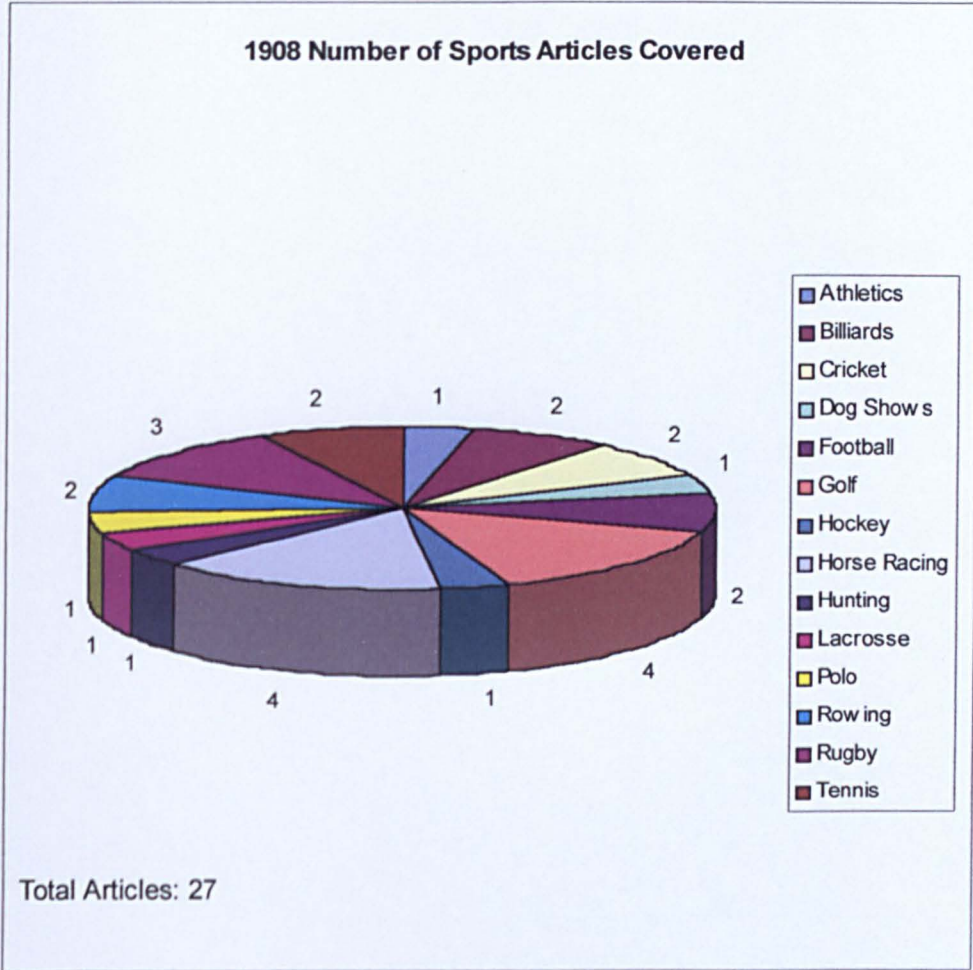


1988 Styles of Articles

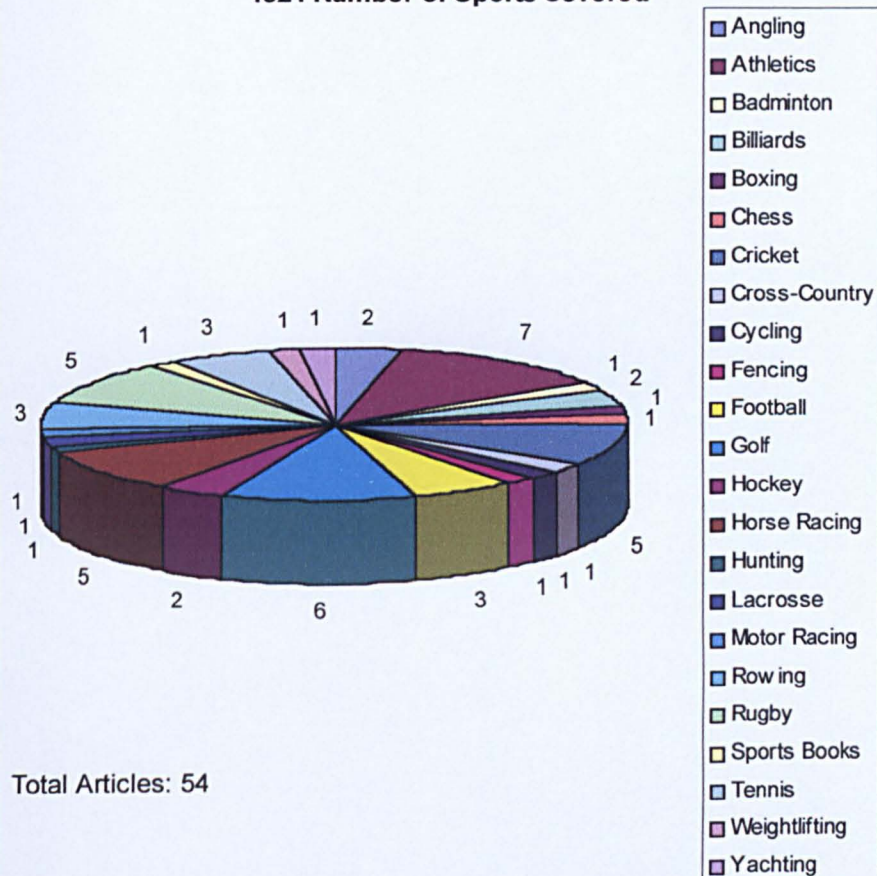


Appendix 7

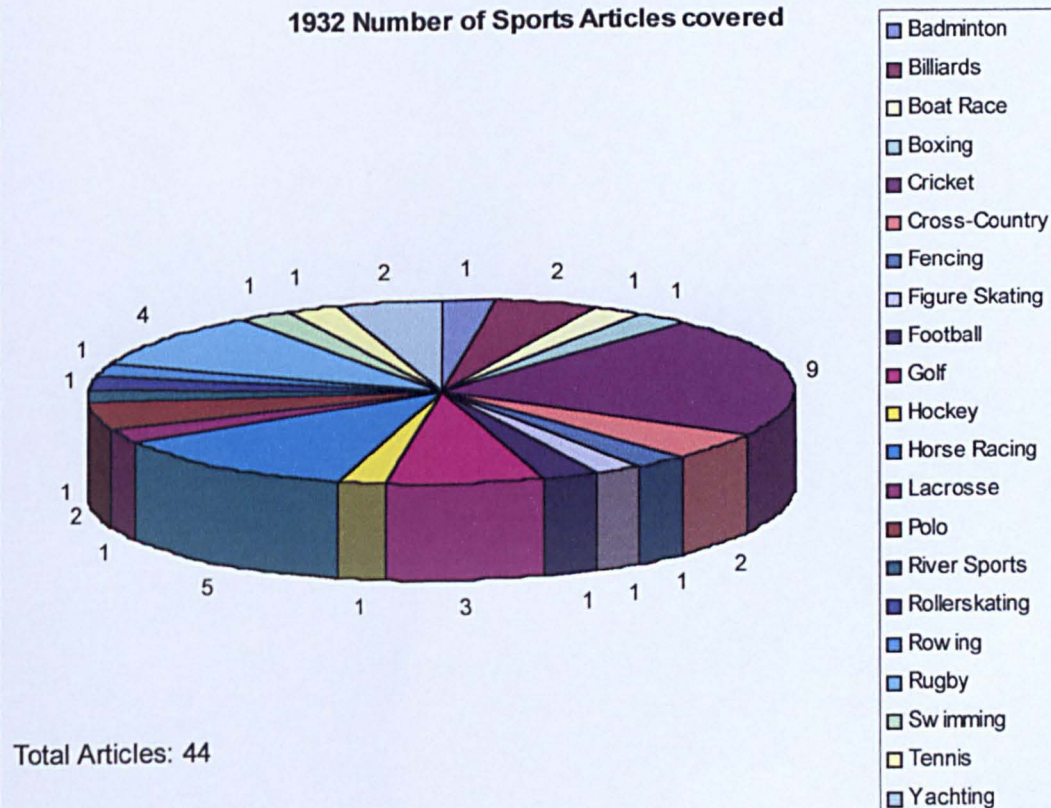
7.4: 1908-1988 NUMBER OF SPORTS ARTICLES COVERED.



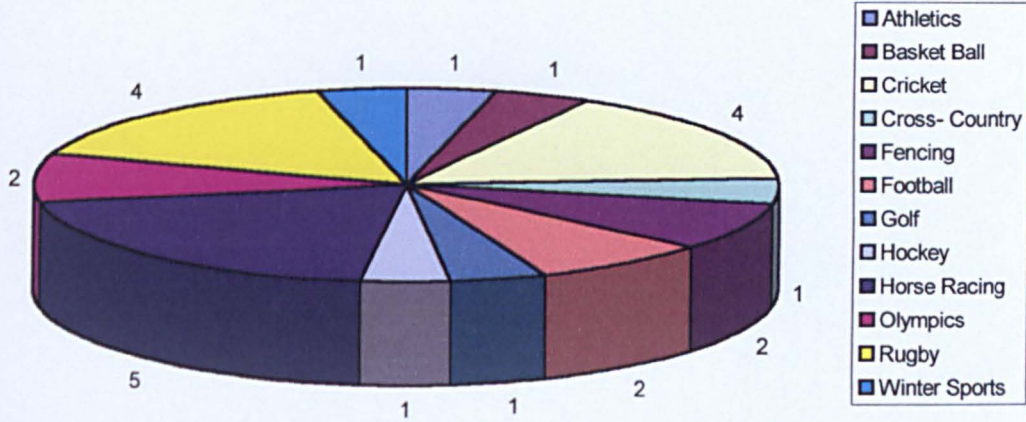
1924 Number of Sports Covered



1932 Number of Sports Articles covered

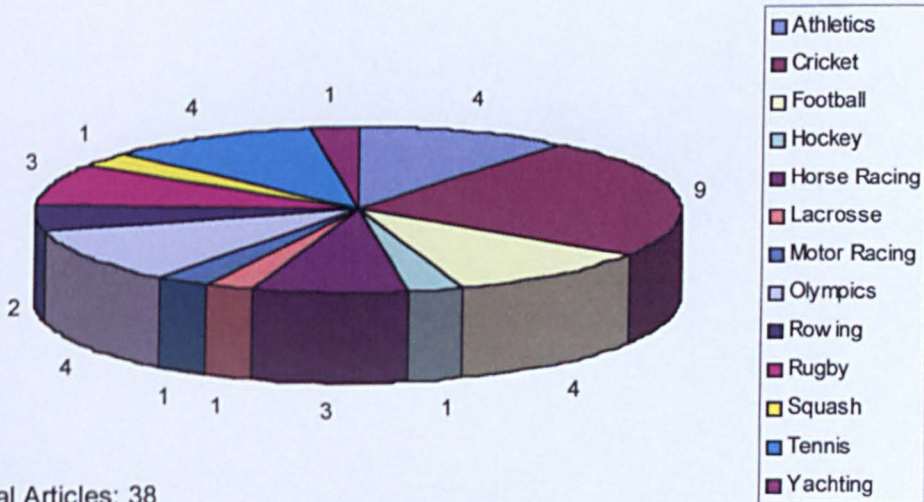


1948 Number of Sports Articles Covered



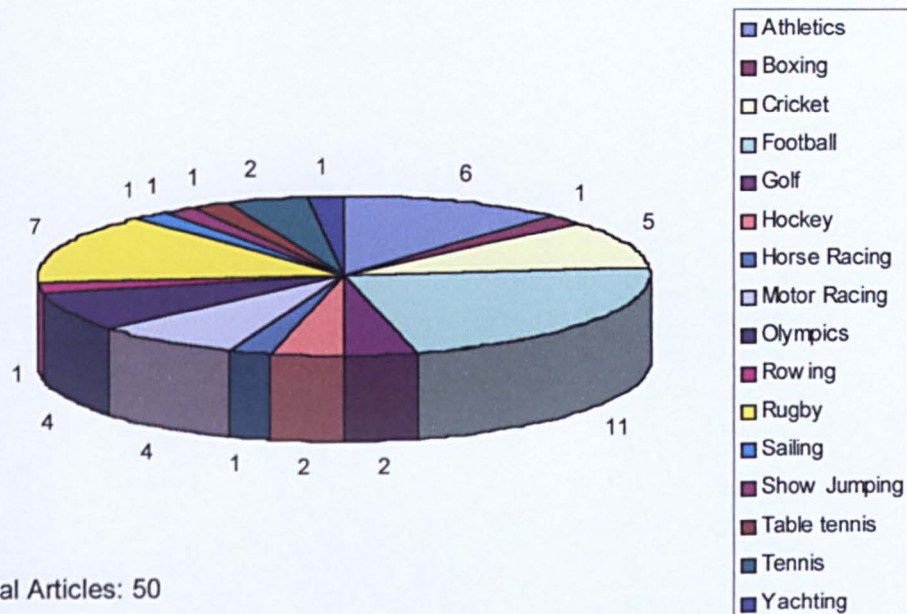
Total Articles: 25

1956 Number of Sports Articles Covered

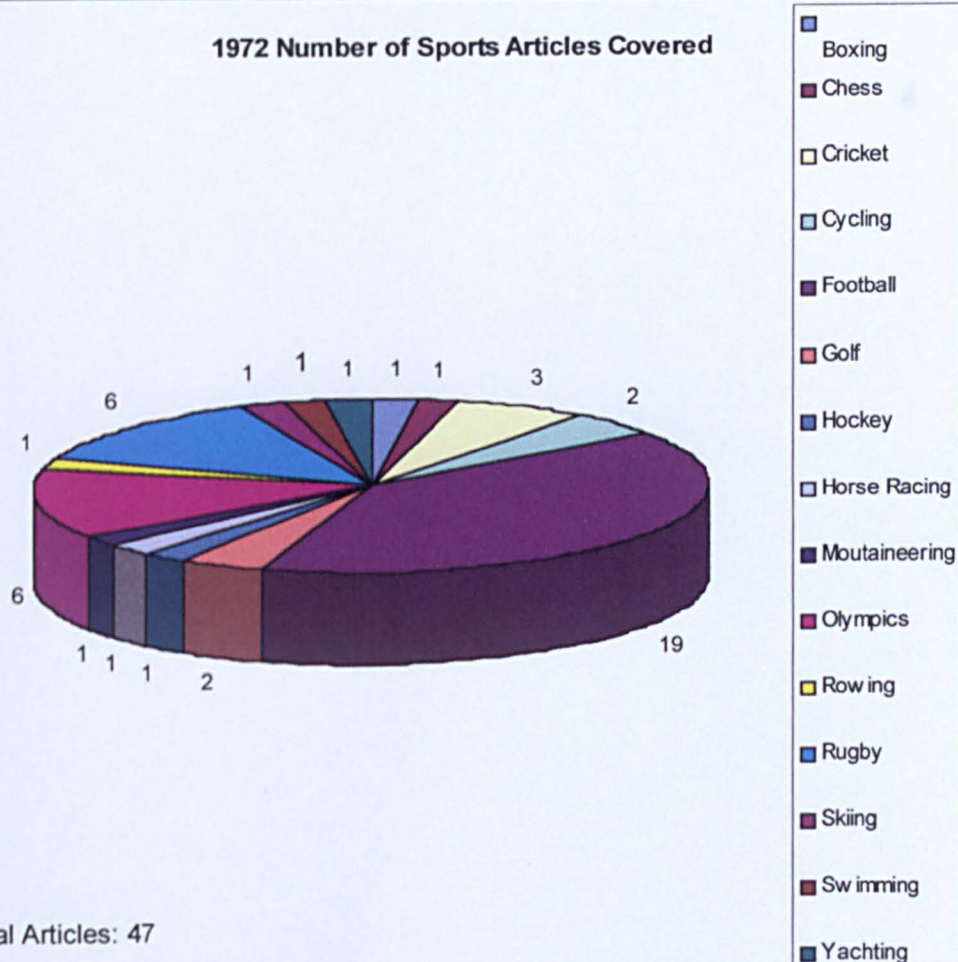


Total Articles: 38

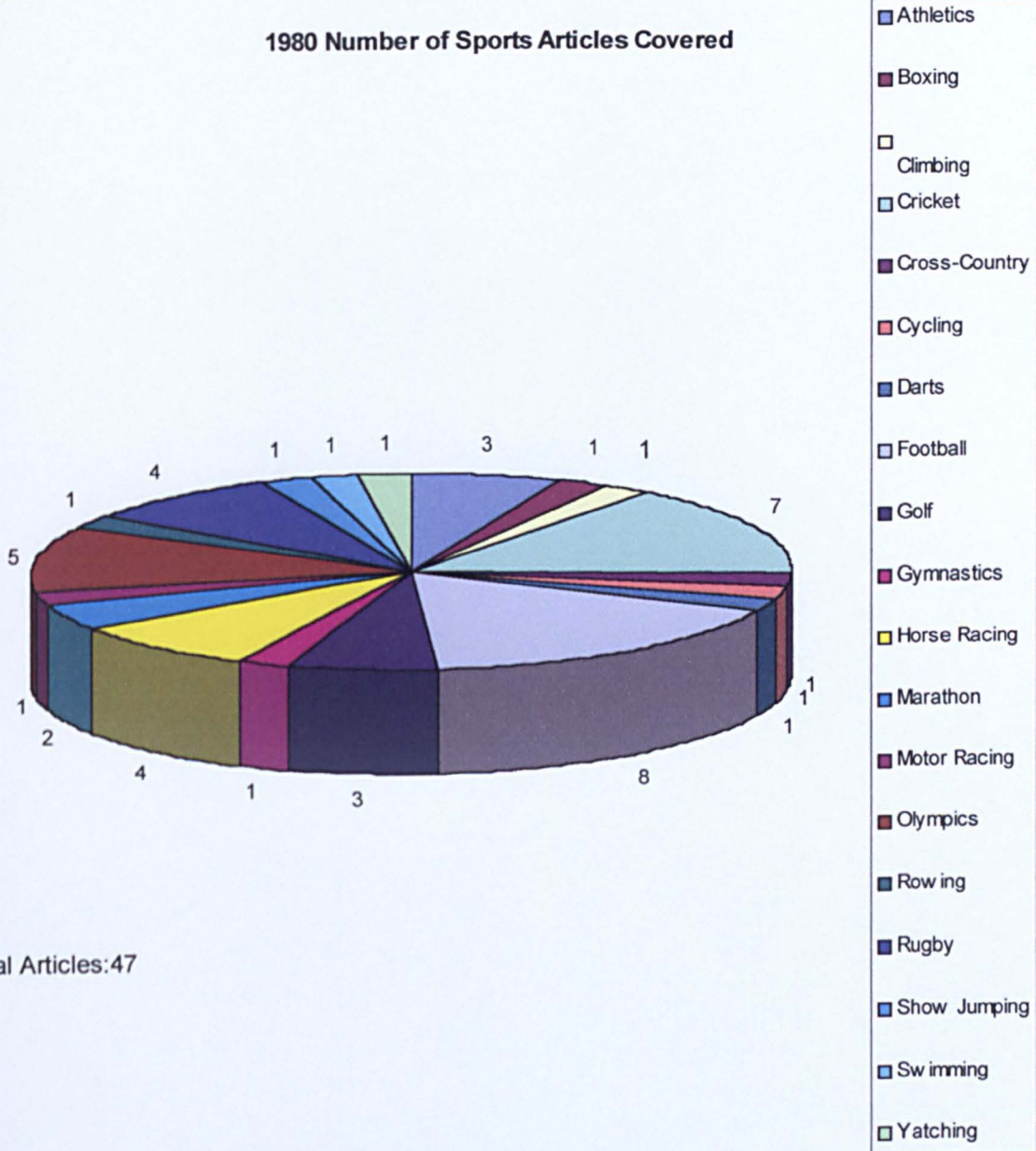
1964 Number of Sports Articles Covered



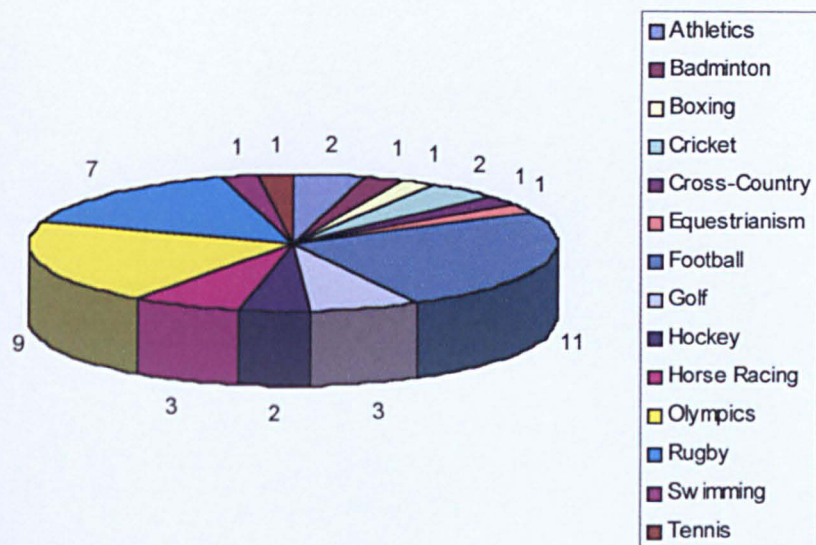
1972 Number of Sports Articles Covered



1980 Number of Sports Articles Covered

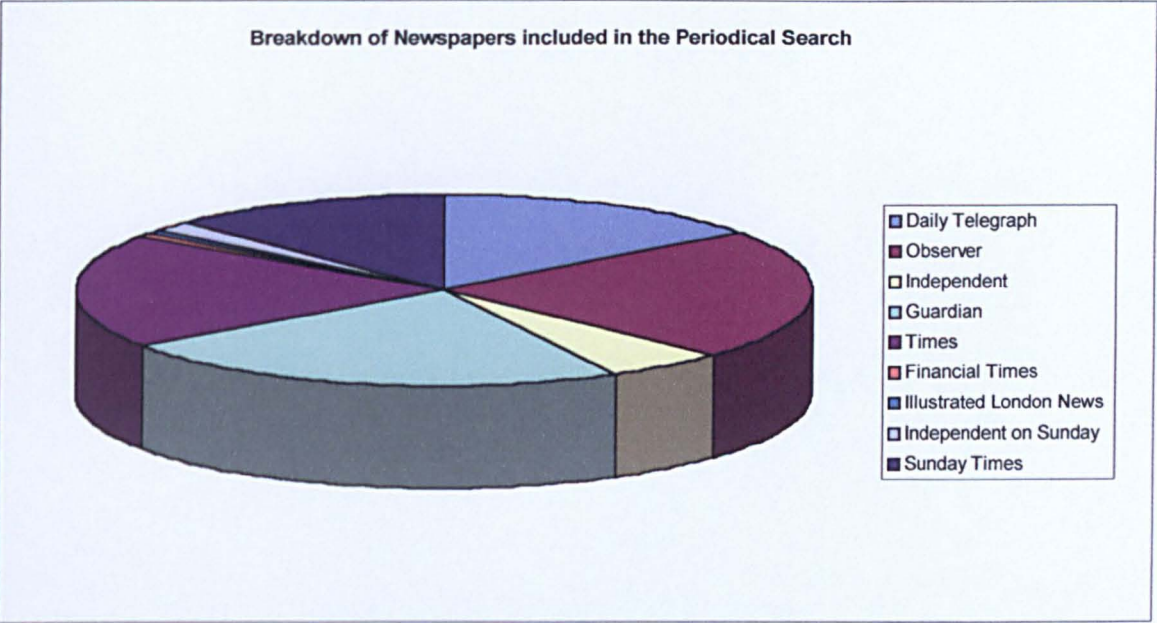


1988 Percentage of Sports Articles Covered by the Observer

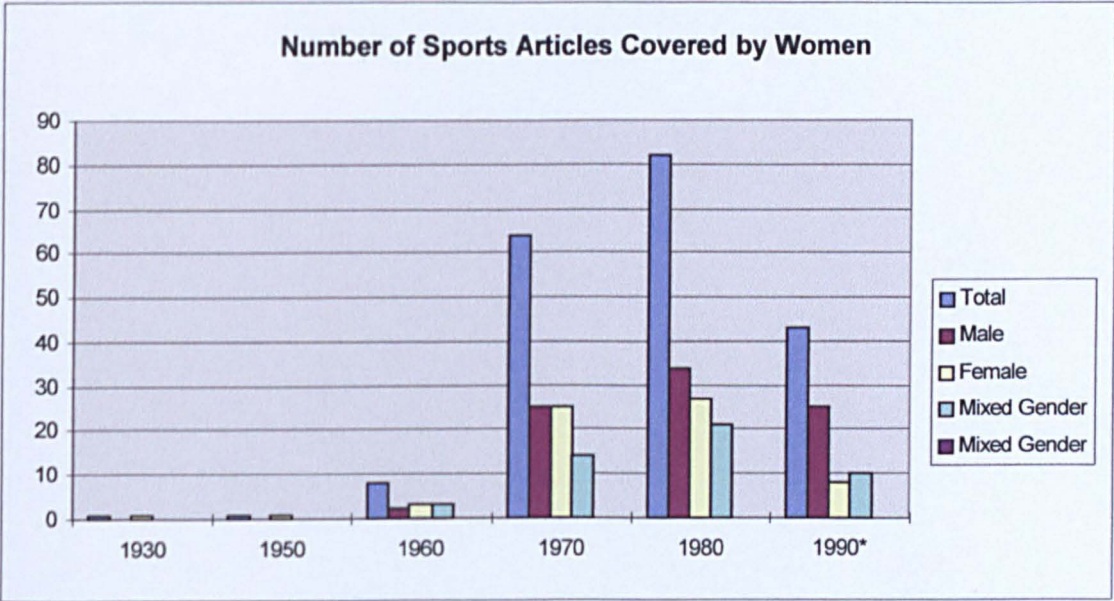


Total Articles: 44

8.1: BREAKDOWN OF NEWSPAPERS INCLUDED IN THE PERIODICAL SEARCH.

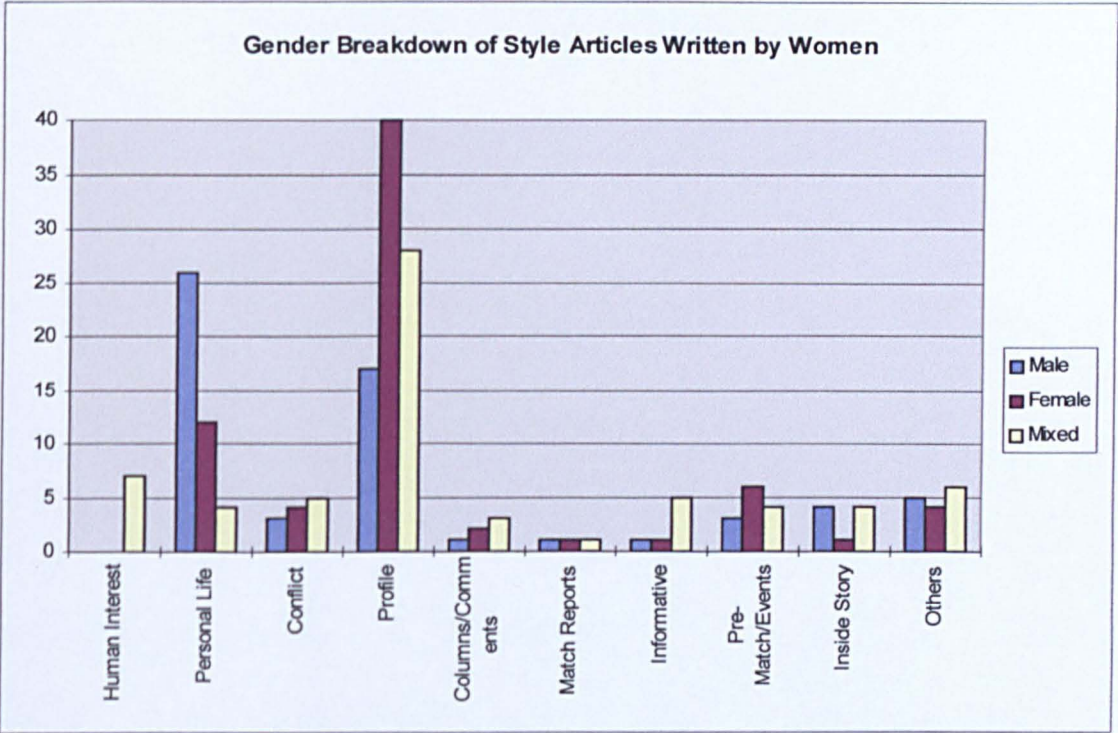


8.2: NUMBER OF SPORTS ARTICLES COVERED BY WOMEN.

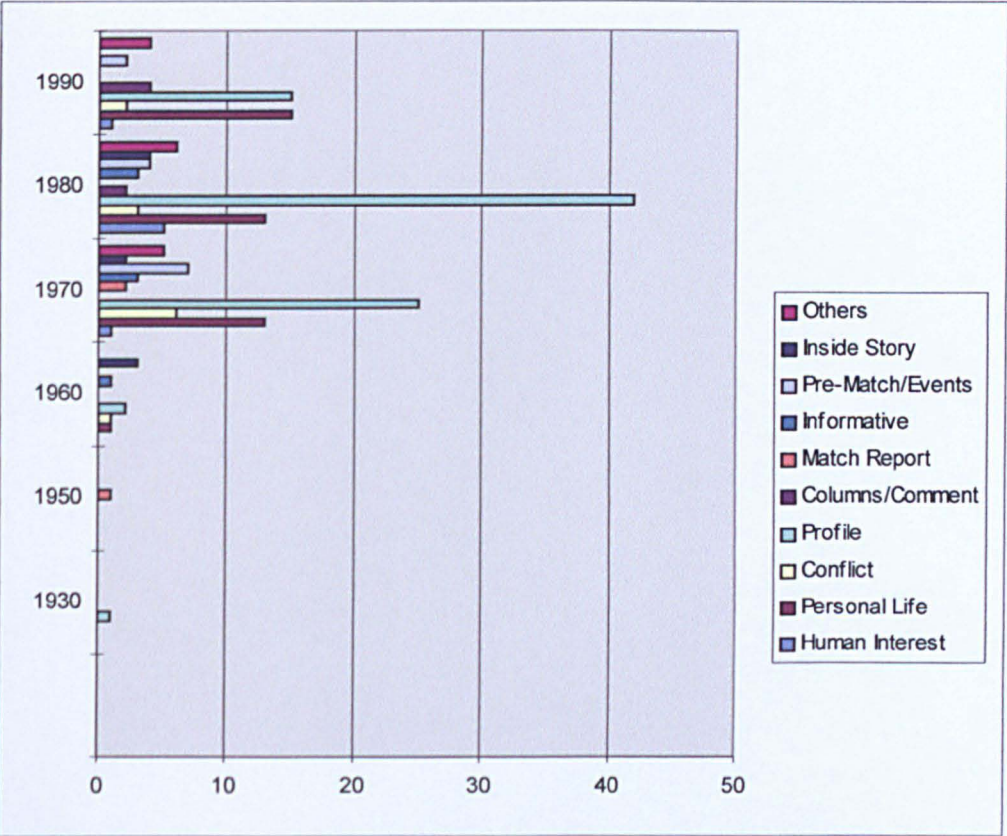


8.3: STYLE ANALYSIS.

8.3.1: GENDER BREAKDOWN OF STYLE OF ARTICLES WRITTEN BY WOMEN.

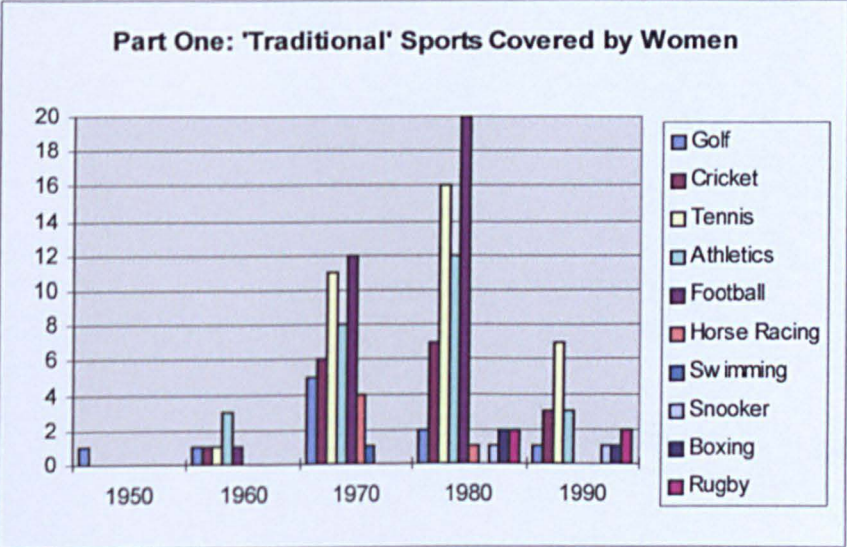


8.3.2STYLES OF ARTICLES WRITTEN BY WOMEN BY DECADE.

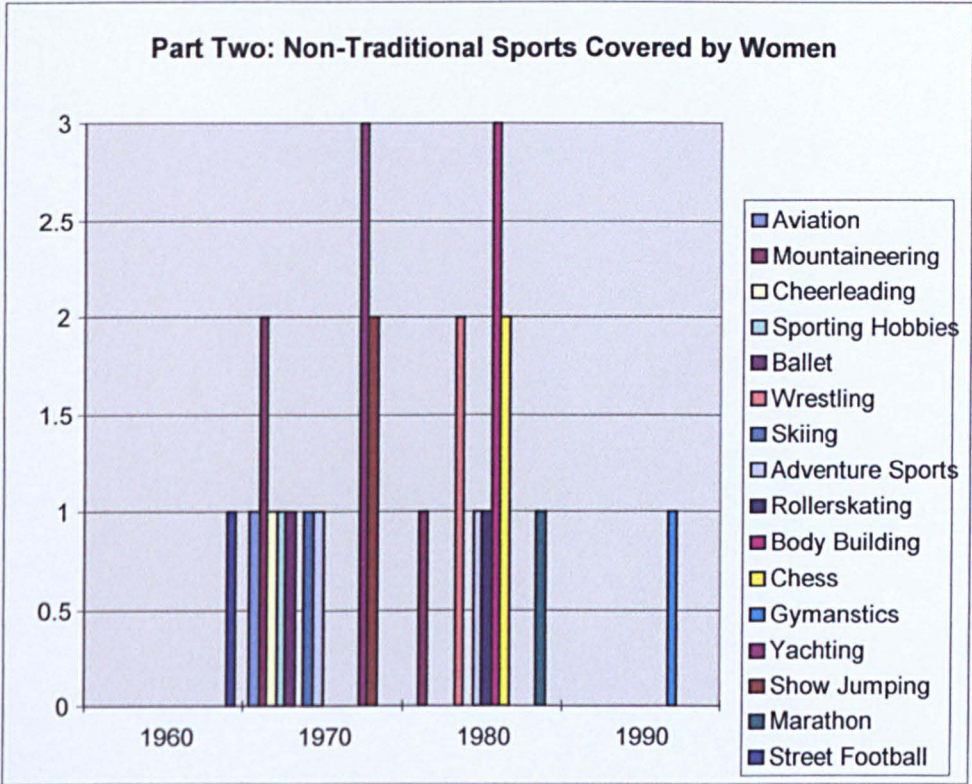


8.4 SPORTS COVERAGE BY DECADES.

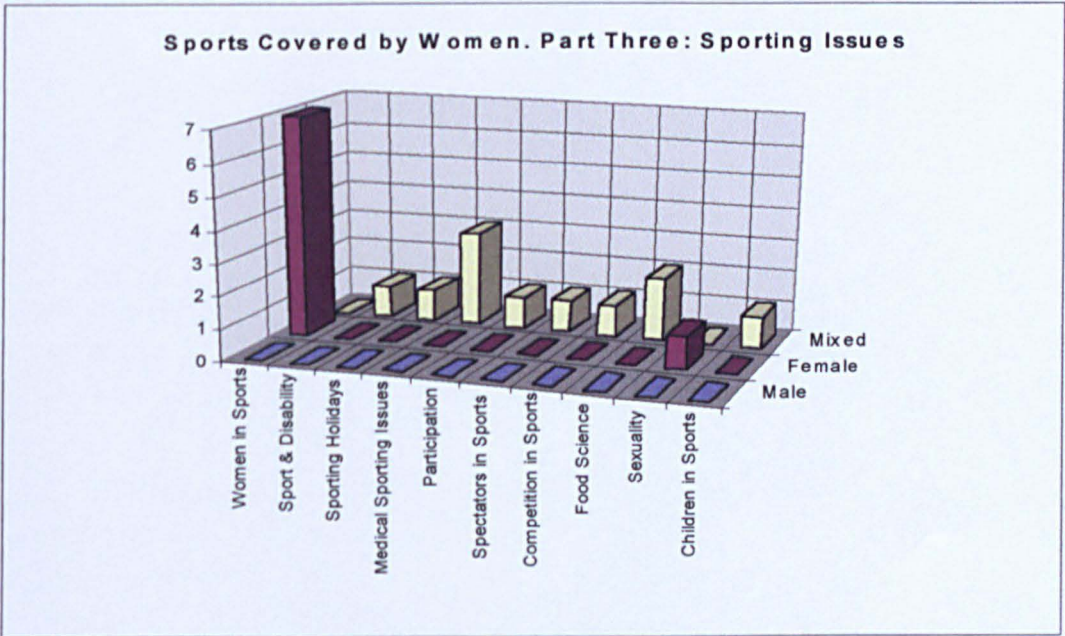
8.4.1: PART ONE: 'TRADITIONAL' SPORTS COVERED BY WOMEN.



8.4.2:PART TWO: NON-TRADITIONAL SPORTS COVERED BY WOMEN.

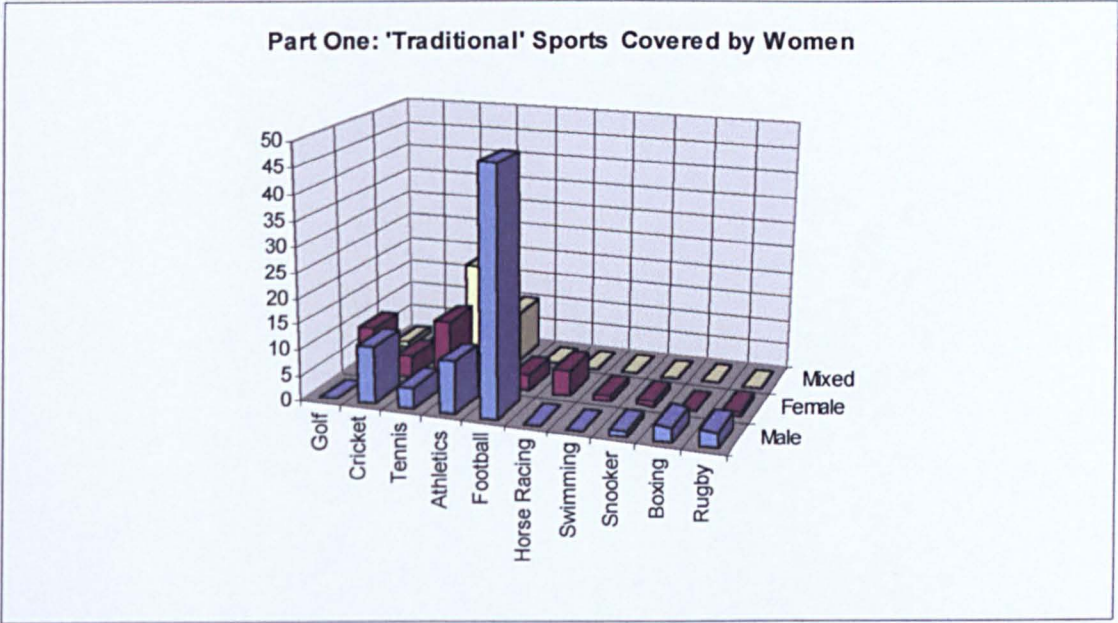


8.4.3: PART THREE: SPORTING ISSUES COVERED BY WOMEN.

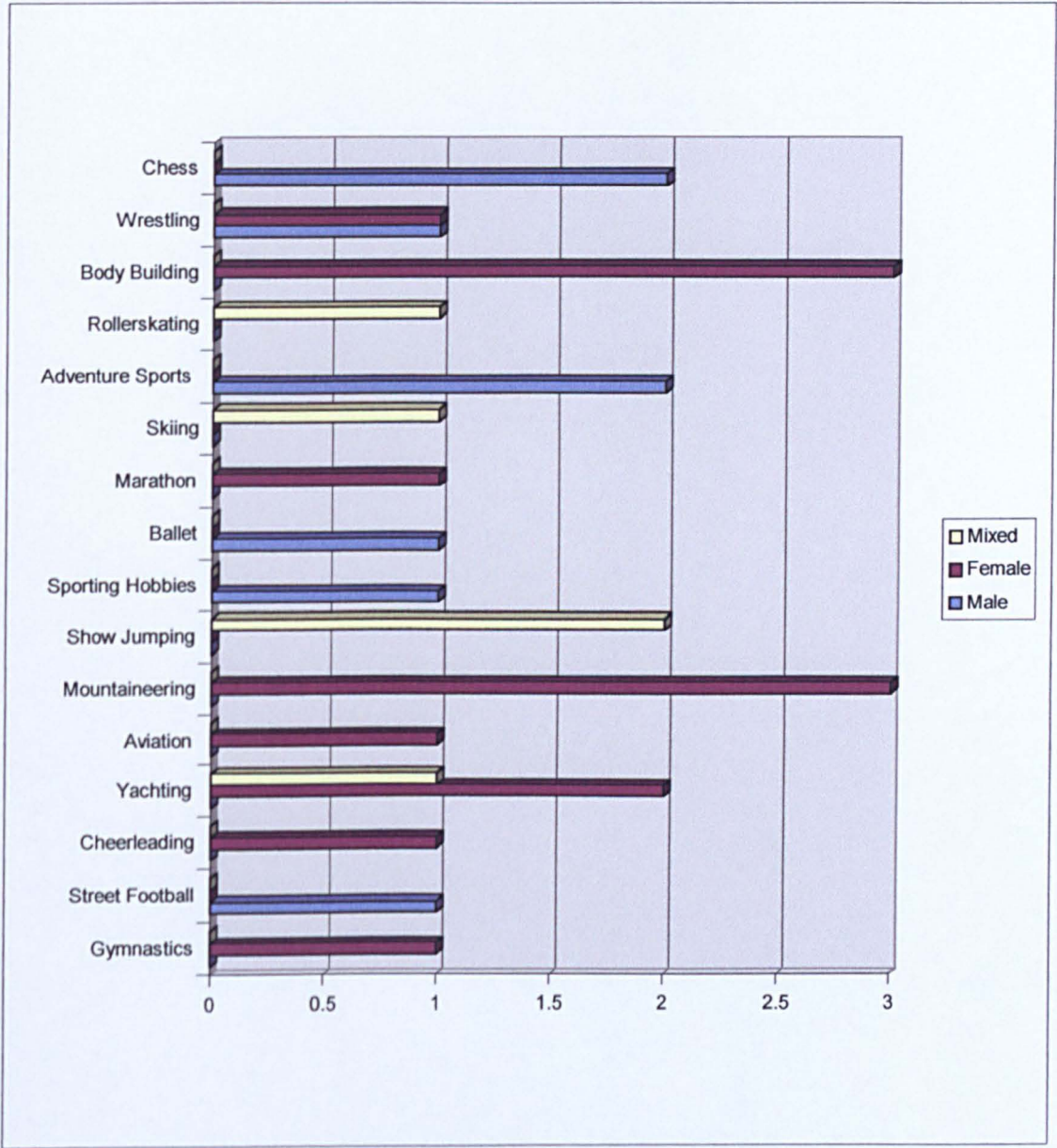


8.5: SPORTS COVERAGE BY ANALYSIS BY SEX.

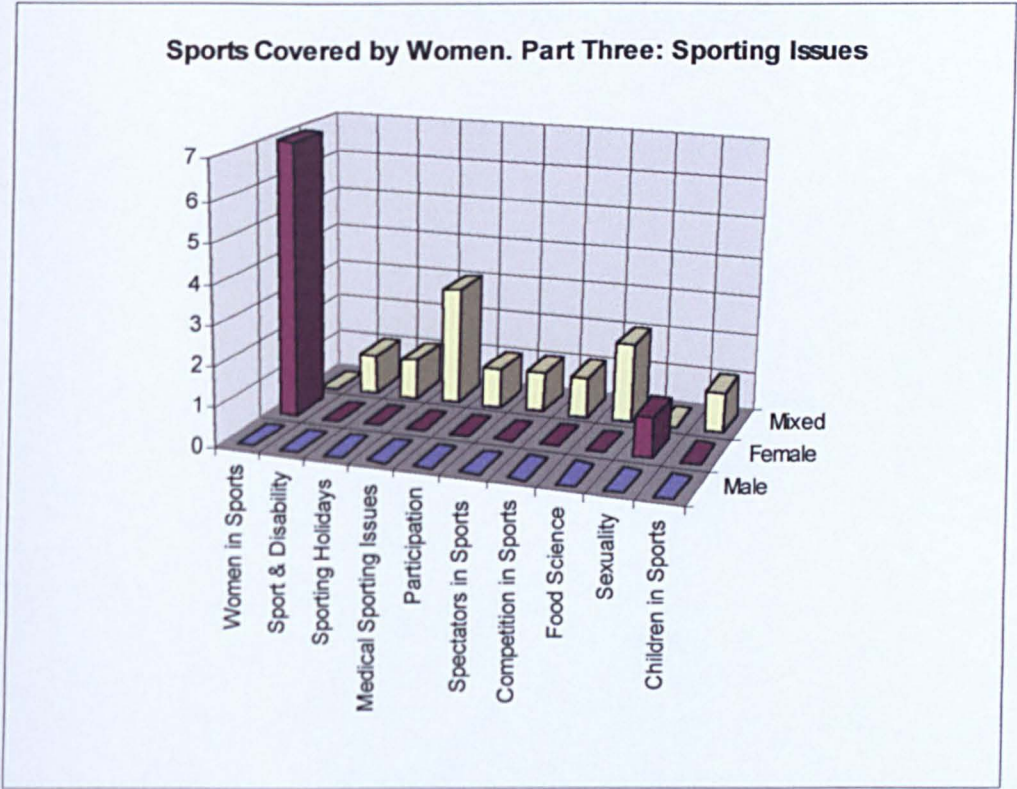
8.5.1: PART ONE: 'TRADITIONAL' SPORTS COVERED BY WOMEN.



8.5.2: PART TWO: NON-TRADITIONAL SPORTS COVERED BY WOMEN.



8.5.3: PART THREE: SPORTING ISSUES COVERED BY WOMEN.



Women Sports Writers Biographical details*

Name	Career	Books	Awards
Ashton, Zoe	1987 Work experience with the <i>Rugby Advertiser</i> 1992 promoted to Sports Editor	No Books to date	1993 third place EMAP Sports Writer of the Year 1993 runner-up Sports Writer 1993/94 Welland Valley newspaper group Sports Sub-Editor of the Year. 1994 Winner British Sports Association for the Disabled media award for regional newspapers
Bateman, Cynthia	Lancashire Evening Post - news reporter and feature writer 1976 - feature writer and sub-editor of <i>The Guardian</i> . 1988 transferred as non-specialist sportswriter, later specialising in soccer. Covered US World Cup with the Republic of Ireland.	No Books to date	No Known Awards*
Besford, Pat:	1960 Olympics <i>Daily Sketch</i> , accredited correspondent Swimming correspondent for the Daily Telegraph for about 20 years Press Attache to the British Olympics in 1980 and 1984 Active member of European Press	1957. <i>Swim Better</i> . 1976. <i>David Wilkie</i> 1971& 1976. <i>Encyclopaedia of Swimming</i>	For her services to Swimming FINA, the world governing body for swimming, awarded her a FINA pin
Burgess, Joanne	1990's Sports Editor and news reporter on the <i>Cumberland & Westmorland Herald</i> . County Table tennis player.	No Books to date	No Known Awards
Crawford, Lesley	1990's Freelance, angling/field sports writer and author. Regular contributor: <i>Salmon & Trout, Scotland for Fishing, Fly Fishing & Fly Tying, Scottish Sporting Gazette</i> . Leading authority on wild Brown trout angling Plays international Table Tennis, Club Squash and Badminton, gives Cycle tours.	1991 <i>Caithness and Sutherland Trout Lock Country</i> 1992 <i>An Angler's Year in Caithness and Sutherland</i> 1996 <i>Fishing for Wild Trout in Scottish Lochs</i>	No Known Awards

Crowther, Nicky	1990's:Freelance journalist writing on women's sport, cycling and mountain sports. John Laing Construction in house journal Reuters Liberian Mountain Bike International (Deputy Editor/Editor) Freelancer for <i>Cycling Weekly</i> <i>Mountain Bike Rider</i> . <i>Australian Mountain Biker</i> , <i>Maximum Mountain Bike</i> , Carlton Books, Haynes Publishing.	No Books to date	No Known Awards
Davies, Patricia	1980's/1990s <i>Golf World</i> . <i>BBC Sports Line</i> . Freelance Golf Writer.	No Known Books	No Known Awards
Harris, Cathy:	1988 & 1992 BBC TV and Radio 1994 World Cup Commentated for ABC TV (Australia) and BBC Radio 5. 1996 Olympic Games <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> (Hockey Correspondent Also worked for <i>The Sunday Telegraph</i> , <i>The Times</i> .	No Books to date	No Known Awards
Helme, Eleanor E	Played Hockey for Rhodesia, Worcestershire and cricket for West Midlands Began career as a Industrial Psychologist. 1908 Editor of the Official organ of the Ladies Golf Union. Golf editor of <i>Eve</i> . 1909 <i>Yorkshire Post</i> , <i>Lady Pictorial</i> , <i>Sporting and Dramatic News</i> , <i>Every Woman's Encyclopedia</i> . Wrote on Golf for the <i>Tatler</i> and <i>Golf Illustrated</i> , the <i>Daily Telegraph</i> . Golf correspondent of the <i>Times</i> ., Athletic News Agency, Special Golf Articles for <i>Badminton</i> , <i>Tatler</i> , <i>World of Golf</i> . Weekly contributions to <i>Asian</i> and <i>Gentlewoman</i> . 1933 (approx) Correspondent Morning Post Open Champion Bronze Medalist 1924.	1923 <i>The Lady Golfer's Tip Book</i> 1925 <i>The Best of Golf: By Some Best of Golfers</i> 1931 <i>After the Ball</i> 1938 <i>Family Golf</i> over 25 books on wildlife, fiction and religion	No Known Awards
Heyhoe-Flint, Rachel	1965 -1972 <i>Wolverhampton Express and Star</i> 1967 <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> 1969-1971 Sports Editor <i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i>	1966 <i>Just for Kicks: A Guide to Hockey Goalkeeping</i> 1976 <i>Women's Hockey</i> 1976 <i>Fair Play: The Story of Women's Cricket</i>	MBE 1972 Best after dinner speaker

1969 -1988 *The Daily Telegraph* women's cricket and hockey correspondent
1972 ITV's *World of Sport*
First Woman Sports Reporter

1978 *Heyhoe! The Autobiography of Rachel Heyhoe-Flint*

Freelance public relations and sports marketing

1960-1984 England cricket team, Captain (1960-1977)
1964 England Hockey
1964-68 County squash player, 1982-84 County Golfer
1960-1962 Began as Head of Physical Education ,
Wolverhampton Municipal Grammar School.
1962-64. Northcote School.

Joint, Laura	mid 1980's Torquay News Agency 1989 <i>Western Morning News</i> . Torquay United correspondent BBC Radio Devon	1990 <i>Torquay United</i>	No Known Awards
Kelly, Angela	From late 1970's News reporter on <i>Bolton Evening News</i> . And Features editor. <i>Bolton Evening News</i> : Women's Editor and Badminton writer. Weekly Badminton Column.	No Books to Date	No Known Awards
Khan, Liz:	1968 - to date Freelance journalist <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> <i>The Guardian</i> <i>The Mail on Sunday</i> <i>The Independent</i> <i>Scotland on Sunday</i> She helped found the Women's PGA in Europe. First woman member and captain of the Press Golfing Society	1979 <i>Tony Jacklin, The Price of Success</i> 1996 <i>The LPGA: The Unauthorized Version</i>	No Known Awards
Leitch, Cecil	1923 Golfing Columnist <i>The Referee</i> . 1914 British and English Championship 1919 English Champion 1920, 1921, 1926 British Champion.	1911 <i>Golf for Girls</i> 1922 <i>Golf</i> 1924 <i>Golf Simplified</i>	No Known Awards
Lonsbrough, Anita	Mid 1960's Freelance Journalist for <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> and <i>The Sunday Telegraph</i> . Company Press and Publicity consultant. Organiser of Press Centres at sporting events. 1958-1964 International swimmer: seven gold, three	No Known Books	MBE 1960 & 1962 'Sportswoman of the Year'. 1962 'BBC Sports Personality of the Year'.

	<p>silver and two bronze medals. Four world record breaking Breast stroke records. Chairman International Association of sports writers.</p>		
Mair, Lewine	<p>1970's At 18 weekly golf column in the <i>Birmingham Planet</i>. <i>Daily Telegraph</i> golf correspondent. Caricatures of the golfing world in <i>Fairway and Hazard</i> and later the <i>Times</i>. Freelance the <i>Times</i>. 1985 Staff golf correspondent the <i>Daily Telegraph</i>. As the first woman staff sports writer</p> <p>English Junior International Golfer.</p>	<p>1980 <i>The Dunlop lady Golfer's Companion</i> 1988 <i>The Woman Golfer: A Lifetime of Golfing Success</i> 1989 <i>Golf Clinic - Diagnosis, Treatment and Outlook. For All Common Golfing Problems</i> 1991 <i>Carefree Golf: Laura Davies with Lewine Mair</i>. 1992 <i>One Hundred Years of Women's Golf</i> 1996 <i>Laura Davies, Naturally....with Lewine Mair</i></p>	No Known Awards
Mott, Sue	<p>Began reporting on Nottingham Forest's 1979 European Cup run for the local student newspaper <i>Gongster</i>. Written for: <i>Daily Telegraph</i> <i>Scotland on Sunday</i> <i>Sunday Times</i> <i>The New York Daily News</i> <i>The Australian</i> <i>The Sunday Times</i> Presenter of BBC sports investigative series <i>On the Line</i>. Regular contributor to BBC Radio Five</p>	<p>1996 <i>A Girl's Guide to Ball Games: What Men Need to Know</i></p>	1996 Sports Feature Writer of the Year
Pollard, Majorie	<p>1926, 1930-1938 <i>The Morning Post</i> 1930-1939 Editor <i>Women's Cricket</i>. 1932-1939 Editor <i>Women's Hockey</i>. 1930's Writer for <i>The Gateway</i> 1939 <i>News Chronicle</i> 1946 - 1970 Editor <i>Hockey Field</i> Sports journalist for <i>The Times</i>, <i>The Guardian</i> (retired 1965) 1921 - 1928, 1931 - 1936 England Hockey. Played for Midlands, Northants and Peterborough and founded North Northants teams Acting President of the All- England Women's Hockey</p>	<p>1926 <i>Women's Hockey</i> 1934 <i>Hockey for Women</i> 1934 <i>Hockey: How to Succeed</i> 1934 <i>Cricket for Women and Girls</i> 1957 <i>Hockey for All</i> 1959 <i>Your Book of Hockey</i> 1972 <i>Hilda M. Light: Her Life and Times - A Tribute by Her Hockey Friends</i></p>	OBE

	<p>Association.</p> <p>Cricket player and founder member of the England Women's Cricket Association.</p> <p>Acting President of the All-England Women's Hockey Association.</p> <p>Cricket player and founder member of the England Women's Cricket Association.</p>		
Price-Fisher, Elizabeth	<p>1960's -1970s Member of Dunlop staff and women's golf correspondent on the <i>Daily Telegraph</i>.</p> <p>Advertising agent on <i>Farnham Herald</i></p> <p>Sub-editor <i>Homes & Gardens</i></p> <p>Assistant to Douglas Card on <i>Fairway & Hazard</i> golf magazine.</p>	No Known Books	No Known Awards
Rudd, Alyson	<p>1959 British Golf Champion</p> <p>1990's: Financial journalist. <i>Independent on Sunday</i>.</p> <p>Match Reporter <i>Independent on Sunday and Times</i>.</p> <p>Football Correspondent <i>Sunday Telegraph</i>.</p>	<p>1997 <i>Matthew Harding - Pursuing the Dream</i>.</p> <p>1998 <i>Astroturf Blonde: Up Front and Onside in a Man's Game</i>.</p>	No Known Awards
Self, Janine:	<p>1980's/1990's</p> <p>Trainee on <i>Observer Crawley</i> weekly paper.</p> <p>Football/general sports reporter/sub-editor on <i>Sheffield Morning Telegraph</i></p> <p>Sports sub-editor on <i>Daily Mirror</i> (Manchester Office)</p> <p>Sports freelance for the nationals including <i>Sunday Express, People, Mail on Sunday</i> and the <i>Sun</i>.</p> <p>Staff Sports reporter on the <i>Sun</i>.</p>	No Known Books	No Known Awards
St John, Lauren	<p>1980's/1990's</p> <p>Freelance Sub- editor - <i>Resident Abroad</i>.</p> <p>Staff writer - <i>Today's Golfer</i>.</p> <p>Freelance Golf writer: <i>The Financial Times, Golf World</i>.</p> <p>Golf Correspondent: <i>The Sunday Times</i></p>	<p>1991 <i>Shooting at Clouds: Inside the European Tour</i>.</p> <p>1994 <i>Seve: The Biography</i>.</p> <p>1995 <i>Out of Bounds: Inside Professional Golf</i>.</p> <p>1998 <i>Greg Norman: The Biography</i>.</p>	No Known Awards
Stringer, M.E. Miss:	<p>1900 - 1930's</p> <p>Editor of <i>Ladies Golf</i>.</p> <p>Reporter for <i>Golf</i> and other sports in the <i>Times, Daily Telegraph, Madame Golfing, Golf illustrated</i>.</p> <p>Responsible for starting Ladies Golf Associations.</p>	No Known Awards	No Known Awards

Taylor, Louise	1990's News reporter: Middlesbrough <i>Evening Gazette</i> . Reporter <i>Match</i> weekly football magazine. Freelance sports writer for <i>Today</i> and the <i>Observer</i> . Contract Northern Football reporter for the <i>Sunday Times</i>	No Known Books	No Known Awards
Thompson, Edith	Editor of <i>Hockey Field</i> , From 1900 - 1916 1923-30 President of All England Women's Hockey Association. Member Executive of National Playing Fields.	1904 <i>Hockey as a Game for Women</i>	CBE
Thompson, Laura	1990's Regular sports column in <i>The Times</i> . Contributing Editor, in <i>Esquire</i> . Columnist on the <i>The Financial Times</i> , <i>The Guardian</i> , <i>Pacemaker</i> , racing magazine. Features for <i>Esquire</i> , <i>Arena</i> .	1994 <i>The Dogs: A Personal History of Greyhound Racing</i> . 1996 <i>Quest for Greatness: A Celebration of Lammtarra and the Racing Season</i> .	Won the 1995 Somerset Maugham Award for <i>The Dogs: A Personal History of Greyhound</i> .
Turrell, Pet	1980's/1990's <i>Worcester Evening News</i> : sub-editor /sports reporter <i>Sports Argus</i> : Deputy Editor	No Known Books	No Known Awards
Welch, Julie	1970's -1990's First female football correspondent on Fleet Street. 1972 - Sports Journalist for the <i>Observer</i>	1984 <i>Those Glory Glory Days</i> . (television play) 1993 <i>Dangerous Dancing</i> (fiction) 1999 <i>Long Distance Information</i> .	<i>Daily Telegraphy</i> Young Writer of the Year.
Wethered, Joyce (Lady)	Open Championship, 1922, 1924, 1925, 1929. English Championship, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924. Then toured professionally in America.	1933 <i>Golfing Memories and Methods</i> .	No Known Awards
Wilson, Enid	Column in <i>Golf Illustrated</i> Women's golf correspondent of the <i>Daily Telegraph</i> , retired early 1970's. 1933 British Champion.	1935 <i>So That's What I do!</i> 1961 <i>Gallery of Women Golfers</i> . 1964 <i>Golf for Women</i> .	No Known Awards

*The information provided is only what is known and has been uncovered by this research to date and is not a full biographical picture, but is a beginning of piecing together the lives and achievements of women sports writers. More Biographical data is known on some writers than others. Where actual dates are known those are given, and where the information was not available a general era has been provided.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

1. PRIMARY SOURCES:

1.1. ARCHIVES:

1. ASSOCIATION OF GOLF WRITERS:

- (1958). Minutes of 'A Committee meeting held at Notts Golf Club, Hollinwell, October.
- (1991). Minutes of 'Meeting between the A.G.W. and the P.G.A. European Tour, Caledonian Club January 27.
- (1997). Letter from Marc Garrod, Hon Secretary. February 13.
- (1997). Letter from Marc Garrod, Hon Secretary. March 22.
- (1999). Letter from Marc Garrod, Hon. Secretary. June 23.

2. BRITISH OLYMPIC ASSOCIATION:

Official Reports: 1896 - 1992

- (1996). Internal Document: Olympic Games Atlanta 1996: National Agencies and National Daily Newspapers – By Name and Accreditation Type.

3. INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISTS.

- (1916). Institute of Journalists, Officers of the Institute, The Council, District and Local Organisations, List of Members, Professional Register, Call to Arms, Roll of Honour.
- (1917). Institute of Journalists, Officers of the Institute, The Council, District and Local Organisations. List of Members, Professional Register, The War -Roll of Honour. 1917.
- (1923). Officers of the Institute. The Council, District and Local Organisation. List of Members. Professional Register. The War - Roll of Honour.
- (1935). Annual Conference - Institute of Journalists: 4th Session, Tuesday afternoon, September 10, Stationers Hall @ 2:30 pm.
- (1964). Annual Conference -Institute of Journalists: Timetable, Agenda, Reports & Accounts.

MINUTE BOOK: MISCELLANEOUS COMMITTEES:

- (1942). Post-war Conditions Committee: Minutes of a Meeting held in the Hall of the Institute on Thursday 9th July.
- (1943). Post -war Conditions Committee: Minutes of a Meeting held in the Hall of the Institute on Friday, 9th December.

(1943). Post-war Conditions Committee: A General Interim Report by P.E. Verstone - Chairman, July.

(1967). Journalism Today - The Proceedings of the Institute of Journalists. Autumn 1967: Annual Conference, Ostend 30 May.
Minutes of the Annual Conference 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936.

Minutes of the AGM, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1943, 1944, 1945.

Institute of Journalists. *Grey Book*. 1907, 1929, 1930, 1938, 1951.

4. INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE.

(1996). Internal Document: International Olympic Committee, Office of Communications, Public Information - The Media and the Games of the Olympiad.

5. SOCIETY OF WOMEN JOURNALISTS.

Annual Reports: no.4 (1897-8) - no. 13 (1906-7), no.15 (1908-9) - no. 19 (1912-13), no. 21 (1914-5), no. 23 (1916-7) - no. 25 (1919-21).

Bureau Circulars May 1910 and July 1910

The Woman Journalist: No1. December 1910 - No. 50. January 1920.

6. THE SUBJECT PERIODICAL INDEX 1914 - 1961 .

continued as **THE BRITISH HUMANITIES INDEX 1962 -1992.**

7. WOMEN'S PRESS CLUB.

(1964). Minutes of Annual General Meeting of the Women's Press Club of London limited, held 10th September at 7:15pm at 52 Carey St, London, WC.

(1967). Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Annual General Meeting of the Writers and Press Club Limited, formerly the Women's Press Club of London limited, held at 52, Carey Street, London, WC2 on Wednesday 27th September at 7:00pm.

The Presswoman, (In house journal of the Women's Press Club).

(1961). December.

(1962). January, February.

(1963). January, February, March, April, May, June/uly.

(1964). June, July, August, September, October.

(1966). January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August/September, October, November/December.

(1967). May.

1.2. MISCELLEANOUS DOCUMENTS.

LETTERS:

(1998). Letter from Sandra Phillips, English Sports Council regarding Sports Journalist of the Year Awards. 19 March.

(1999). Letter from Kathryn Baker, Assistant Curator of the British Golf Museum.

(1999). Letter from Wendy Coles, Athlete Support Administrator, Amateur Swimming Federation of Great Britain, 13th January.

(1999). Letter from Sir Micheal Bonallack, Secretary of the Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews, 25 May.

(1999). Letter from Stewart McDougall, Press Officer to the Open Golf Championship, 8th December.

1.3 NEWSPAPERS.

1. The *Observer* Search:¹

1908: 8 May and 1 November.
1916: 11 June
1917: 7 January
1924: 4 May and 1 December
1932: 31 July
1933: 24 January
1948: 1 August
1949: 12 February
1956: 25 November
1957: 26 May
1964: 25 October
1965: 25 April
1972: 27 August
1973: 23 February
1980: 20 July
1981: 10 Jan
1988: 18 September
1989: 19 March

2. ADDITIONAL INDIVIDUAL NEWSPAPER EDITIONS ANALYSED.²

1973

Observer. 4 March and 4 November.

1974

Observer. 4 February, 17 February and 11 August.

1975

Observer. 22 June and 6 July.

1976

Times. 10 April and 15 May.

1982

Observer. 30 May, 6 June, 27 November.
Guardian. 29 November.

¹ The dates of the newspapers included for analysis here, as discussed in Chapter One, were chosen on the basis of Olympic years.

² The additional newspapers analysed were chosen, as discussed in Chapter One because they contained a sports article written by a woman that formed the basis of the 'canon' of sports writing by women as part of this study. The purpose of examining the whole newspaper which contained such a reference was to see if the trend of categorisation of where the article was placed (ie: inside or outside the traditional sports section) was consistent throughout the newspaper.

1984

Guardian. 1 June.

1988

Observer. 19 June.

1989

Independent. 5 August.

1990

Guardian. 17 January.

Times. 7 June.

1991

Guardian. 10 August.

Sunday Times. 5 May.

Times. 25 March.

Times. 1 November.

1992

Guardian. 19 December.

Guardian. 16 June.

1994

Daily Telegraph. 1 August.

Times. 3 October.

Sunday Times. 9 October.

1.4 JOURNALS.

1. FOOTBALL SPECIAL:

No1. -70 10 Sept 1921 - 6 January 1923.

2. GIRL'S OWN PAPER:

1940:

Vol 60. January, February, March

Vol 61. April, May, June, July, August, September, October.

Vol 62: November, December.

1941:

Vol 62: January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September

3. LADIES FIELD - VARIOUS:

Ladies Field: A Sporting, Society and Home Magazine for Gentlewomen
March 1898 - March 1922

The Ladies Field Fashions May 1922 - April 1925

Ladies Field May 1925 - July 1928
and then incorporated with "Home Magazine"

4. THE REFEREE:

1922

May, June, July, August, September, October, November, December

1923

January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November, December

5. THE SPORTSWOMAN - VARIOUS¹:

The Sportswoman - A Record of British Women's Sports.
No. 1 -23 March 1919 - January 1921.

The Sportswoman: A Monthly Record of Sports and Athletics for Women. Official Organ of the Colleges and Schools of the United Kingdom:

Vol. 1 -6. 7 October 1920 -March 1921

Continued as *The Sportswomen's Record* Vol 7/ 8 April 1921 - May 1921

The Sportswoman: An Album of Fashion, Sport and Travel: The Official Organ of the Ladies Kennel Association.

No 1 -3 October to December 1908

¹ These were the only editions available for study at Colindale. The records of the *British Union Catalogue of Periodicals. Vol. IV S-Z*, shows they were the also the only editions published.

The Sportswoman and Fashion no. 1-2. 6 , 13, June 1931 Registration issues.

The Sportswoman. No. 1 May 1933. A registration issue.

6. WOMEN'S CRICKET²

Vol 1. No. 1 may 1930 to Vol 10 no 5. Sept 1939:

1930 - 1939 (inclusive)

May, June, July, August, September

7. WOMEN'S HOCKEY³

Vol. 1, no. 4 January 1933 - Vol. 7, no. 7 April 1939.

1933 - 1936, 1938:

January, February, March, April, October, November, December.

1937:

January, February, March, April, September, October, November, December.

1939:

January, February, March, April.

² This is the only copies available for studies at the Newspaper Library. It appears again in 1940, with a break for war until 1945. It then continues from 1946/47/48 with a break until 1951 up to 1955.

³ These were the only editions available at Newspaper Library. The Journal did continue until 1940. Editions then stopped until 1945 because of war and reappeared in 1946/47/48. Volume 1 no. 1 and no. 2 not available for study at the Newspaper Library.

1.5. SPORTS BOOKS BY WOMEN ANALYSED.

1904

Thompson, E. *Hockey as a Game for Women*. In. Wallet Series: The Wallet Series.

1911

Leitch, C. *Golf for Girls*. London: George Newnes.

1922

Leitch, C. *Golf*. London: Thornton Butterworth.

Wethered, R and Wethered, J. *Golf from Two Sides*. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

1923

Helme, E. E. *The Lady Golfer's Tip Book*. London: Mills & Boon.

1925

Helme, E. E. (Ed). *The Best of Golf: By Some Best of Golfers*. London: Mills & Boon.

1926

Pollard, M. *Women's Hockey*. London: British Sports Publishing Group.

1929

Millen, H.E. & Yell, W.N. *Hockey for Women*. Johannesburg: Juta & Co.

1931

Helme, E.E. *After the Ball - Merry Memories of a Golfer. Being the Story of Forty-Six Championships and Other Golfing Occasions Pursued with Clubs, Notebooks and Pencil*. London: Hurst & Blackett.

Lonsdale, Earl. and Parker, E. (Eds.). *The Lonsdale Library of Sports, Games and Pastimes*. London: Seeley.

1933

Wethered, J. (1933). *Golfing Memories and Methods*. London: Hutchinson.

1934

Pollard, M. *Cricket for Women and Girls*. London: Hutchinson.

Pollard, M. *Hockey for Women*. London: Hutchinson & Co.

Pollard, M. *Hockey: How to Succeed*. London: Evans Brothers.

1935

Wilson, E. and Lewis, R. A. *So that's what I do!*. London: Methuen.

1938

Helme, E.E. *Family Golf*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons.

1942

Leitch, C. (1942). *Golf Simplified*. London: Thornton Butterworth

1957

Besford, P. *Swim Better*. London: Frederick Muller.

Pollard, M. *Hockey for All*. London: Thomas Nelson.

1959

Pollard, M. *Your Book of Hockey*. London: Faber and Faber.

1961

Wilson, E. *A Gallery of Women Golfers*. London: Country Life.

1964

Wilson, E. *Golf for Women*. London: Arthur Baker.

1966

*Heyhoe, R. *Just for Kicks: A Guide to Hockey Goalkeeping*. Wolverhampton: William Gibbons & Sons.

1971

Besford, P. *Encyclopaedia of Swimming*. London: Robert Hale.

1972

Pollard, M. (Ed.). *Hilda M. Light: Her Life and Times - A Tribute by Her Hockey Friends*. London: The All England Women's Hockey Association.

1976

Besford, P. *David Wilkie*. London: Kemps.

Besford, P. *Encyclopaedia of Swimming*(2nd edit). London: Robert Hale.

Heyhoe-Flint, R. and Rheinburg, N. *Fair Play: The Story of Women's Cricket*. London: Angus and Robertson.

Heyhoe-Flint, R. *Women's Hockey*. London: Pelham Books.

1978

Alcock, A. *They're Off! The Story of the First Girl Jump Jockeys*. London: J.A. Allen.

Heyhoe-Flint, R. *Heyhoe! The Autobiography of Rachel Heyhoe-Flint*. London: Pelham Books.

1979

Kahn, L. *Tony Jacklin: The Price of Success*. London: Hamlyn.

1980

Mair, L. *The Dunlop Lady Golfer's Companion*. Suffolk, Lavenham: Eastland Press.

1983

Norman, G and Lawrence, D. *Greg Norman: My Story*. London: Harrap.

1984

Welch, J. *Those Glory Glory Days. First Love.* (A Channel Four Book, Stories from Goldcrest's highly acclaimed Films), London: Fontana Lion's Original.

1985

Jacklin, T. and Laidlaw, R. *Tony Jacklin: The First Forty Years.* London: MacDonald, Queen Anne Press.

1988

Mair, L. and Robertson, B. *The Woman Golfer: A Lifetime of Golfing Success.* Edinburgh: Mainstream.

1989

Mair, L. and Davis, D. (Ed.). *Golf Clinic - Diagnosis, Treatment and Outlook. For All Common Golfing Problems..* London: Duncan Peterson.

1991

Crawford, L. *Caithness and Sutherland Trout Loch Country.* Caithness: North of Scotland Newspapers.

Mair, L. *Carefree Golf: Laura Davies with Lewine Mair.* London: Hodder & Stoughton.

St John, L. *Shooting at Clouds: Inside the European Tour.* Edinburgh & London; Mainstream.

1992

Crawford, L. *An Angler's Year in Caithness and Sutherland.* Golspie: The Northern Times.

Mair, L. *One Hundred Years of Women's Golf.* London: Mainstream Publishing in conjunction with the Ladies Golf Union.

1993

Magee, S. *Runners and Riders: An Anthology of Writing on Racing.* London: Methuen.

1994

St John, L. *Seve: The Biography.* London: Corgi Books.

Thompson, L. *The Dogs: A Personal History of Greyhound Racing.* London: Chatto & Windus.

1995

St John, L. *Out of Bounds: Inside Professional Golf.* London: Partridge Press.

1996

Crawford, L. *Fishing for Wild Trout in Scottish Lochs.* Shrewbury: Swan Hill.

Kahn, L. *The LPGA: The Unauthorized Version - The History of the Ladies Professional Golf.* Hampshire: AA Publishing.

Mair, L. *Laura Davies Naturally.... With Lewine Mair.* London: Bloomsbury.

Mott, S. *A Girl's Guide to Ball Games: What Men Need to Know.* Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing.

Thompson, L. *Quest for Greatness: A Celebration of Lammtarra and the Racing Season.* London: Micheal Joseph. 1996.

1997

Rudd, A. *Matthew Harding - Pursing the Dream*. Edinburgh: Mainstream.

1998

Rudd, A. *Astroturf Blonde: Up Front and Onside in a Man's Game*. London: Headline.

St John, L. *Greg Norman: The Biography*. London: Corgi Books.

1999

Welch, J. *Long Distance Information*. London: Macmillan.

*Heyhoe is the maiden name of Heyhoe-Flint. She is referred to as Heyhoe-Flint for the duration of the thesis as this was her name during the survey.

1.6. PERIODICAL ANALYSIS.

References Studied from the Subject Periodicals index/British Humanities Index:

1935

Londonderry, Marchioness of. Women in Sport and War: Four Generations of Change. *Field*. 4 May. pp.1022-24.

1951

Jupp, N. Too Easy Championship. *Field*. 16 June. p. 955

1960

Hallawell, A. Football Match Played at Atherstone, Warwickshire. *Folklore*. Sept. pp. 193-196.

1962

Makins, V. Oh! Well Held, Ma'am! *Time and Tide*. 43. 21 June. pp. 30-1.

1967

Haddon. C. Who's for Open Tennis. *Illustrated London News*. 251. 1 July. pp. 14-15.

1968

Collins, R. Portrait of the athlete as a human being. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 28 July. p. 8.

Collins, R. and Laurie, P. Nobody Understands Us... *Sunday Times Magazine*. 17 March. p. 42.

Lyon, M. Olympics - Vive le Sport! *New Statesman*. 75. 16 February. pp. 202-3.

1969

MacCarthy, F. Eternal Girlishness. *Guardian*. 30 June. p. 7.

Mair, L. Swinging Southpaw. *Times*. 25 August. p. 5.

1970

Kilmartin, J. Miss Neufville, the Girl who Goes Zoom Zoom. *Observer*. 8 March. p. 23.

Peters, P. Full Supporting Cast. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 3 May. pp. 20-1.

1971

Murphy, G. Stroller Walks it. *Observer*. 16 May. p. 24.

Stott. C. The Veteran of 22. *Guardian*. 7 May. p. 11.

1972

Brasher, S. How Nastase keeps them all guessing. *Observer*. 23 January. p. 19.

Edmunds, L. Saddling up, Ready to make Flat Racing History. *Daily Telegraph*. 28 April. p. 17.

Edmunds, L. Safe in the Saddle, Susie can Face a Difficult World with a Smile. *Daily Telegraph*. 18 February. p. 13.

Kilmartin, J. A Slim Life on the Ocean Wave. *Observer*. 13 February. p. 19.

Kilmartin, J. Gambler on the High Seas. *Observer*. 28 October. p. 22.
 Kilmartin, J. Mary, Heroine of Falls and Shankill. *Observer*. 26 November. p. 26.
 Morris, R. Miss Tufnell Slims to Win. *Observer*. 28 May. p. 22.
 Puddefoot, S. One Field Women still have to Tackle. *Observer*. 20 August. p. 26.
 Reynolds, G. Away from it all to Munich. *Guardian*. 14 August. p. 9.
 Ward -Thomas, P. Women Golfers through the years. *Country Life Annual*. pp. 22 - 23.

1973

Brasher, S. No Open and Shut Case. *Observer*. 4 March. p. 26.
 Davis, C. Eleven Maids Dressed all in White. *Country Life*. Vol. 53., 19 April, pp. 1046-7.
 Edmunds, L. Ballet offers more Jobs for the Boys. *Daily Telegraph*. 28 March. p. 17.
 Kilmartin, J. Only the Fittest Keep in the Hunt. *Observer*. 4 March. p. 26.
 McHarg, S. Cheered to the Skies. *Observer*. 28 January. p. 22-5.
 Murphy, G. Broome Jumps into Long Money. *Observer*. 18 February. p. 25.
 Patterson, S. Cricket and Other Codes or Attributed to C.L.R.Janes. *New Community*. Vol 2, Autumn. pp. 389-91.
 Robyns, G. Ordeal Amongst the Strawberry Teas. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 20 May. p. 22.
 Welch, J. A Break in the Game. *Observer*. 9 December. p. 22.
 Welch, J. Hard Man, Soft Centre. *Observer*. 7 October. p. 26.
 Welch, J. Jack Charlton's Smile of Steel. *Observer*. 4 November. p. 26.

1974

Arnold, S. Riding for Glory. *Observer*. 31 March. p. 33.
 Pashley, A. The Singer as Athlete. Anne Pashley Compares her Two Careers. *Listener*. 91, 9 May. pp. 607-8
 Stringer, R. Two Girls with a Sports Date in Rome. At 17 Ruth is Running for Gold. For Joyce, winning is a family affair. *Daily Telegraph*. 31 August. p. 8.
 Welch, J. The Ruthless Disinfectant. *Observer*. 17 February. p. 22.
 Welch, J. The Lord's Day Observance Man. *Observer*. 3 February. p. 22.
 Welch, J. Success on a Boot String. *Observer magazine*. 11 August. pp. 47-8, 50.

1975

Brasher, C. and Brasher, S. The Connors Show. *Observer*. 27 June. p. 19.
 Brasher, C. and Brasher, S. The Women's Champion. *Observer*. 6 July. p. 8.
 Brophy, B. An Uncommonly Good Match. *Listener*. 93, 19 June. p. 800.
 Mair, L. A Rising Young Star Drives off with Cash Handicap. *Times*. 29 November. p. 14.
 Slaughter, J. How to Enjoy a Good Stake. *Observer*. 23 February. p. 13.

1976

Gross, J. The Maiden beneath the Ice. *Guardian*. 10 September. p. 9.
 Khan, L. Golfer, Viven finds it a Tough Course to Play. *Daily Telegraph*. 17 November. p. 17.
 McCooey, M. The track Suits: A look at Olympic Fashion, Past and Present. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 18 July. p. 36.
 Tweedie, J. Amazon Grace. *Guardian*. 9 August. p. 7.
 Welch, J. King of Clubs. *Observer Magazine*. 10 October. pp. 36, 38-40.
 Welch, J. Grown Men will be Boys. *Daily Telegraph Magazine*. 4 June. pp. 8-10, 12.

1977

Benn, E. ...And Rock the World of Ladies Golf. *Daily Telegraph*. 20 July. p. 15.
 Besford, P. Injured Cheryl Maybe Fit for Sweden. *Daily Telegraph*. 20 July. p. 29.
 Bingham, S. I'll Miss it all when it is Time to Go. *Observer*. 16 October. p. 30.
 Brophy, B. Ungirdled to the Net. *Listener*. 97, 16 June. pp. 796-8.
 Clayton, S. Deadly Hush in the House Knight. *Daily Telegraph*. 28 March. p. 11.

Edmunds, L. An Air Lady Explains: Why I Lived Dangerously. *Daily Telegraph*. 4 April. p. 11.
 Edmunds, L. Women face a challenge in the Mountains. *Daily Telegraph*. 23 June. p. 17.
 Groome, A. The Amazing Dedication of Two Middle Distance Runners. *Daily Telegraph*. 25 August. p. 11.
 Heywood, M. Anyone for Lawn Tennis. *Dorset Yearbook*. pp. 81-2.
 Khan, L. Three Girls get Pop Promotion. *Daily Telegraph*. 20 July. p. 15.

1978

Greenoak, F. Play with Water. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 9 July. p. 63.
 Jones, P. The Price of Excellence how much Time, Dedication and Money does it take for a Talented Child to reach the Top in Sport? *Sunday Times Magazine*. 12 February. pp. 18-9.
 Walker, C. Playing the Game: How Sporting Personalities Protect their Vital Statistics. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 30 April. pp. 74-7.
 Whitehorn, K. If it's Agony, it must be Cricket. *Observer*. 25 June. p. 27.

1979

Cooke J. Lords here we come ...again. *Guardian*. 13 June. p. 9.
 Disney, A. America's Football Goddesses. *Observer Magazine*. 16 September. pp. 50-51, 53-54.
 Forgan, L. Over Forty and Pursuing another Career of Note. *Guardian*. 29 May. p. 9.
 Groome, A. Fairest looks for Winter Slops. *Daily Telegraph*. 3 January. p. 13.
 Groome, A. Sir Edmund Hillary: Why I won't Join Women Climbers. *Daily Telegraph*. 2 March. p. 17.
 Groome, A. Sue's Role: As Easy as Falling off a Horse. *Daily Telegraph*. 31 August. p.13.
 Harper, R. Ashmore Cricket Team. *Dorset Yearbook*. pp. 87-8.
 Welch, J. Women in Sport. *Observer*. 30 September. p. 30.

1980

Disney, A. How the Florida Tennis Grows Champions. *Observer Magazine*. 28 September. pp. 81, 83-4.
 Edmunds, L. Revolution on the Rugby Field. *Daily Telegraph*. 3 January. p. 11.
 Price, C. How we Won the Olympics: Interviews with David Wilkie, Jim Fox and
 Price, C. What Makes Coe Run? What Motivates Top Sportsmen? *Sunday Times magazine*. 10 February. pp. 64-5.
 Price, C. No Longer the Rink Outside. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 28 September. pp. 110-111.
 Stinson, H. and Thompson, S. A Women's Place is in the Home Straight. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 23 November. pp. 108-9.
 Wace, B. Let's Score a Point in Moscow, by going to the Games in Mourning. *Daily Telegraph*. 31 January. pp. 15.

1981

Abbott, M. It's a Brighter Scene when Women Pot the Black. *Daily Telegraph*. 6 February. p. 15.
 Bateman, C. Chess with Balls. *Guardian*. 3 April. p.16.
 Bateman, C. "Everytime I Pour Money into this Club, my Alimony goes up another £2000". Says the Director. *Guardian*. 27 February. p. 9.
 Bateman, C. The Champion versus the Peanut Vendors. *Guardian*. 12 June. p. 9.
 Brophy, B. Reflections on Wimbledon. *Spectator*. 11 July. pp. 14-5.
 Curtis, G. A Life in the Day of Big Daddy. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 22 December. p. 78.
 Curtis, G. A Life in the Day of Buster Mottram. Buster Mottram and Gail Curtis. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 21 June. p. 70.
 Franks, H. Superman to the Aid of the Special Olympics. *Guardian*. 7 April. p. 10.

1982

- Bateman, C. Making the Ball Talk: Cricket for the Blind. *Guardian*. 11 June. p. 16.
- Bateman, C. Ring of Confidence. *Guardian*. 3 February. p. 10.
- Chappell, H. Wimbledon Days. *New Society*. 1 July. pp. 5-6.
- Ferris, E. Staying Power. *Guardian*. 28 April. p. 9.
- Mason, H. Scrum Down: A Mother's Right to Choose? *Times*. 2 June. p. 8.
- Morris, E. Wimbledon Now, by a Champion. *Daily Telegraph*. 19 June. p. 11.
- Rafferty, J. Gold Man in a Hurry. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 5 September. p. 27.
- Tysoe, M. The Stress of the Long-Distance Sports Person. *New Society*. 8. July. pp. 47-9.
- Welch, J. Games People Play. *Observer*. 6 June. p. 44.
- Welch, J. The Welch Guide to Sports Watchers. *Observer*. 30 May. pp. 44-5.
- Wilkes, A. A Life in the Day of Imran Khan, Pakistani Cricketer. Imran Khan with Angela Wilkes. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 24 October. p. 94.

1983

- Barr, S. The Football Bosses. *New Society*. 19 May. p. 253-4.
- Bateman, C. Why Does a Nice Girl want to be a Shot Putter. *Guardian*. 11 January. p. 8.
- Dunn, E. Relative Values: Running in the Family. Richard and Adrian Crane talk about each other to Elizabeth Dunn. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 23 October. pp. 9-10.
- Khan, L. Drives behind the Glamour Girl. *Guardian*. 6 August. p. 11.
- Lawrence, M. Caroline is a Top Scorer, Selling, Soccer to the Family. *Daily Telegraph*. 5 March. p. 14.
- Menkes, S. Dressing for Court with King Ted. *Times*. 15 June. p. 12.
- Pattullo, P and Welch, J. The Sporting Sex: Five Sportswomen. *Observer Magazine*. 2 October. pp. 29-31, 33.
- Rafferty, J. Relative Values: Running in the Family: The Yeoman twins. Paula Fudge and Anne Ford with Jean Rafferty. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 1 May. p. 9.
- Rich, P. Court Action. *Observer Magazine*. 12 June. pp. 52-3.
- Rowen, S. Relative Values: Critic and Cricketer. Dennis Potter and his daughter Sarah talk to Susan Rowen. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 14 August. pp. 13-4.
- Thatcher, C. Virginia is Talking her Way Back to the Top. *Daily Telegraph*. 22 June. 15.
- Wilkes, A. A Life in the Day of Raymond Keene: International Chess Grandmaster. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 9 October. 126.
- Wilkes, A. Relative Values, Coe Partners: Record Breaking Athlete Sebastian Coe and his Coach Father, Peter, talk to Angles Wilkers. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 4 December. 9-10.

1984

- Mair, C. A Yellow Card for Football Club Finances. *Observer*. 2 September. 26.
- Pick, H. Romania Enters the Bridge Building Olympics. *Guardian*. 1 June. p. 15.

1985

- Brompton, S. Desmond Picks up the Reins. *Times*. 27 March. p. 14.
- Cleave, M. Potter's Craft. *Observer Magazine*. 4 August. pp. 17-8.
- Jones, H. Ascent of Women. *Times*. 22 June. p. 11.
- Lee, M. Chinese Game with High Stakes. *Times*. 24 May. p. 14.
- Sofer, A. Mindless Football Justice. *Times*. 11 November. p. 16.
- Spackman, A. Soccer who Cares? *Sunday Times*. 18 August. p. 15.
- Toynbee, P. Is it Near Pornography, Titilation, Degrading to Women? Or is it a Manifestation of Strong Women, Equal to Men? *Guardian*. 24 June. p. 21.

1986

- Howell, G. Tough Cookies: Martina Navratilova. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 22 June. pp. 42-4, 48.

Spackman, A. Keep off the Grass. Why we don't get the Champions we want. *Sunday Times*. 22 June. p. 27.

1987

Blue, A. This Woman is a Champion, not a Wiggling Vamp. *Sunday Times*. 20 December. p. 21.

Evans, S.J. In Praise of Fast Woman. *Guardian*. 28 October. p. 26.

1988

Caudrey, A. Clear the Classroom Rat Race. *Independent*. 13 October. p. 19.

Collins, R. The Big Match. *Sunday Times*. 17 July. p. 15.

Hanson, M. Sport for All? *Guardian*. 26 September. p. 18.

McKee, V. Winning Form. *Times*. 23 June. p. 19.

Mitchison, A. Wimbledon the Wacky. *New Statesman and Society*. 1 July. pp. 10-11.

Morris, A. Little Smashers. *Observer Magazine*. 19 June. pp. 46-9.

Mott, S. The Out of Love Match. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 19 June. pp. 20-3.

O'Brien, L. Diabolic Seroids. *Guardian*. 7 June. p. 16.

O'Brien, L. From the Terraces. *Guardian*. 21 June. p. 16.

Pepinster, C and Rhodda, J. A Hard Sell for Sheffield. *Guardian*. 21 October. p. 23.

Ryan, S. Khan and Will. *Observer Magazine*. 3 July. pp. 52-3, 55

Spackman, A. Is Calypso Cricket Over?. *Independent*. 5 August. p. 21.

Steven, C. Giving Rowers Panther Power. *Independent*. 18 August. p. 13.

Todd, A. The Sponsorship racket. *Observer Magazine*. 19 June. pp. 26, 28.

1989

Barwick, S. The Hillsborough Disaster. *Independent*. 18 April. p. 2-3.

Brotchie, J. When Nightmares come True. *New Statesman and Society*. 12 May. p. 19-20.

Driscoll, M. Ben, 11: A Ray of Wimbledon Hope. *Sunday Times*. 2 July. p. A13.

Driscoll, M. Mayhem, Myth and Reality in the East End. *Sunday Times*. 3 December. p. A7.

Ellison, J. The Crying Game. *Guardian*. 2 February. p. 17.

Greenwood, L. The World at his Feet. *Sunday Times*. 16 April. p. F1.

Grove, V. Can Likely Lad from Legoland Net United and Win the Cup. *Sunday Times*. 26 February. p. B5.

Lamb, B. Building the Mind of a Champion. *Times*. 15 June. p. 18.

McKee, V. The Swinging Sexists. *Times*. 23 June. p. 17.

Melville, J and Owen, M. City in Mourning Strives to Cope with Catastrophe. *Sunday Times*. 23 April. p. F3.

Mills, H. Hillsborough's Grim Tale of Accidents and Blunders. *Independent*. 5 August. p. 2.

Pattullo, P. Battle of the Bulge. *Observer Magazine*. 24 June. pp. 26-7, 29.

Pitt-Kelly, F. The Ugly Drugs behind the Body Beautiful. *Independent*. 26 April. p. 15.

Richard Meade. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 13 January. p. 48-9.

Purves, L. Where Women Fear to Tread. *Times*. 28 June. p. 21

Webster, R et al. Running into Trouble: The Man with the Money who made Steve Overt Weep. *Sunday Times*. 20 August. p. A11.

Welch, J. A Match for the boys? *Times*. 19 May. p. 21.

Wilkes, A. Wives who have to be a Good Sport. *Times*. 24 August. p. 7.

1990

Boyle, J. A Dog may Prove Man's Best Friend. *Independent*. 26 June. p. 15.

Buxton, A. Britain must Broaden Horizons. *Times*. 26 October. p. 40.

Gills, L. The Cup that Cheers an Inebriates. *Times*. 7 June. p. 16.

Kingman, S. The Lifelong Penalty Facing Football-Crazy Youngsters. *Independent on Sunday*. 7 October. p. 51.

Kirby, H. Is the Banana the Fruit of Victory. *Times*. 5 July. p. 16

Leonard, C. A Complex Character at the Heart of Wembley. *Times*. 21 July. p. 51.

MacBeth, F. Offside Tactics. *Listener*. 8 February. pp. 16-17.
 Targett, J. Come on you Rooms. *Guardian*. 23 June. Supt. pp. 10-11.
 Welch, J. A Hero in our Dinner Time. *Times*. 3 September. p. 15.
 Woods, V. Football's Mr Fixit. *Times*. 17 November. Supt. pp. 4-6.

1991

Bell, E. Tennis Touts in Wimbledon Wares. *Observer*. 7 July. p. 27.
 Davis, M. Innings and Outings. *Guardian*. 12 December. p. 34.
 Driscoll, M. and Graham, M. Martina's Lament. *Sunday Times*. 24 November. p. 11.
 Gill, L. To Absent Wives and Girlfriends. *Times*. 1 November. p. 15.
 Gooch, A. The Flame burns for Catalonia. *Independent on Sunday*. 21 July. p. 26.
 Grove, V. Would You Sell this Man Your Son? *Sunday Times*. 7 July. Section 2, p.3.
 Heller, Z. Bjorn Again. *Independent on Sunday*. 21 April. review supt. pp. 2-5.
 McKee, V. Son Lost but not Gone. *Sunday Times Magazine*. 27 April. pp. 44-6.
 McLean, T. Why Curtly is Better in the Flesh. *Financial Times*. 26 June. p. 19.
 McNamara, S. Britian in the Bunker. *Observer Magazine*. 2 June. pp. 16-19, 21-2, 24.
 Muir, K. El Tel, Running with the Ball. *Times*. 28 June. p. 12.
 Muir, K. Positive Charged for Victory. *Times*. 1 November. p. 15.
 Muir, K. Trying to Take Goals to Newcastle. *Times*. 5 April. p. 16.
 Price, C. Food for Fitness. *Sunday Times magazine*. 20 October. p. 68.
 Roberts, Y. Big Man with the Seating Plan. *Observer*. 12 May. p. 47.
 Rumbold, J. Winning Ways of a Working Class Hero. *Guardian*. 16 February. Supt. pp. 24-6.

1992

Bateman, C. A Minder never Lost for Words. *Guardian*. 19 December. p. 13.
 Bell, E. Silver Lining in Sky's Soccer Cap. *Observer*. 7 June. p. 34.
 Birkett, D. Running Standing Still. *Guardian*. 23 July. p. 21.
 Daley, J. Monsters of our own Making. *Times*. 16 June. p. 14.
 Ellis, C. Fair Game. *New Statesman and Society*. 26 April. p. 18-19.
 Grove, V. Games, Upset, Smashed. *Times*. 19 June. Supt. p. 1.
 McElvoy, A. Great Legs, Shame about the Sample. *Spectator*. 7 March. pp. 11-12.
 Mott, S. Artful Dodger Still Picking a Pocket or Two. *Sunday Times*. 22 November. Section 2, p. 10.
 Mott, S. Essex man who Basks in the Shade. *Sunday Times*. 30 August. Section 2, p. 10.
 Mott, S. Rambo takes his New Life in his Stride. *Sunday Times*. 15 November. Section 2, p. 15.
 Mott, S. Super Sub Prepared for the Axe. *Sunday Times*. 26 April. Section 2, p. 11.
 Muir, K. More than a Match for Duff. *Times*. 12 May. Supt p. 4.
 Muir, K. The All-Rounder takes a New Guard. *Times*. 25 April. Review Supt. pp. 4-6.
 Thomas, T. Women first over the Hurdles of Pain. *Guardian*. 24 July. p. 29.
 Wigoden, C. The Award means more than any I have won Before. *Sunday Times*. 22 November. p. 10.
 Welch, J. The Dribbling Classes. *Sunday Times*. 17 May. Section 5, p. 1.
 Wise, D. Games, Set and Over in a Flash. *Guardian*. 16 June. p. 23.

2. SECONDARY SOURCES.

2.1. BOOKS:

Abbot, P. and Wallace, C. (1997). *An Introduction to Sociology - Feminist Perspectives* (2nd edit.). London: Routledge.

Aburdene, P. (1994). *Mega Trends for Women*. London: Arrow.

Adie, K. (2003). *The Kindness of Strangers: The Autobiography*. London: Headline.

ADM Equality. (1984). *Equality: National Union of Journalists*. London: National Union of Journalists.

Alexander, S. (1984). Newspaper Coverage of Athletics as a Function of Gender. *Women's Studies International Forum*. 17. 6. pp. 655-662.

Allan, S. (1998). (En)gendering the Truth of Politics of News Discourse. *News, Gender and Power*. In Carter, C. (et al) (Eds). *News, Gender and Power*. London: Routledge.

Allan S. (199). *News Culture*. Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Amsden. A. (Ed.). (1980). *The Economics of Women and Work*. Middlesex: Penguin.

Australian Press Council. (1995). *The Back Page: The Press Coverage of Sport*. Ballarat.

Bainbridge, C. (1984). *One Hundred Years of Journalism; Social Aspects of the Press*. Hampshire and London: Institute of Journalists.

Ballaster, R., etal. (1991). *Women's Worlds: Ideology, Femininity and the Women's Magazine*. London: Palgrave.

Barnes, S. (1989). *A Sportswriters Year*. London: Heinemann.

Barr, P. (1977). Newspapers. In King, J and Stott, M. (Eds.). *Is this your Life? Images of Women in the Media*. London: Virago.

Beasley, M. and Gibbons. S. (1988). *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism*. Washington: The American University Press.

Beetham, M. (1996). *A Magazine of her Own?: Domesticity and Desire in the Women's magazines 1800 - 1914*. London: Routledge.

Benn, M. (1991). Sign of the Times: A New Journalism? *Woman: A cultural review*. Oxford University Press, Vol. 2. No.2. pp.107-12.

Bennett, E. A. (1898). *Journalism for Women: A Practical Guide*. London: John Lane.

Bennett, R et al. (1987). Changing the rules of the Game: Reflections towards a Feminist Analysis of Sport. *Women's Studies International Forum*. 10. 4. 369 - 379.

Bennett, V. (1996). *Women, Football and the Media: An Analysis and Re-interpretation of the Female Position in Male Professional Football*. Unpublished BA Hons. Thesis, De Montfort University.

Billington, F. Women and Journalism. In McKenna, Ethel. M. M. (1903). *The Woman's Library. Vol. 1: Educations and Professions*. London: Chapman & Hall.

- Birke, L and Vines, B. (1987). A Sporting Chance: The Anatomy of Destiny? *Women's Studies International Forum*. 10, 4. pp. 337 - 347.
- Blowitz, de H.S. (1893). Journalism as a Profession. *The Contemporary Review*. January. pp. 37-46.
- Boston, R. (1990). *The Essential Fleet Street it's History and Influences*. London: Blandford.
- Boyce, G., Curran, J., and Wingate P. (Eds.). (1978). *Newspaper History: From the 17th Century to the Present Day*. London: Constable and Company.
- Brailsford, D. (1992). *British Sport a Social History*. Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press.
- Brake, L. (1994). *Subjugated Knowledges: Journalism, Gender and Literature in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Macmillan.
- Braybon, G. (1981). *Women Workers in the First World War. The British Experiences*. London: Croom Helm.
- Briscoe, V. (1932). *300 Careers for Women*. London: Lovat Dickson.
- Bromley, M and O'Malley, T.(Eds.). (1997). *A Journalism Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Brookes, R. (2002). *Representing Sport*. London: Arnold.
- Bryson, L. (1987). Sport and the Maintenance of Masculine Hegemony. *Women's Studies International Forum*. Vol. 10, no. 4. pp. 349-360
- Bundock, C. J. (1957). *The National Union of Journalists: A Jubilee History 1907-1957*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Burton-Nelson, M. (1996). *The Stronger Women Get, The More Men Love Football: Sexism and the Culture of Sport*. London: The Women's Press.
- Cahn, S. K. (1994). *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth Century Women's Sport*. Oxford: Maxwell Macmillan.
- Cameron, J. (1967). Journalism: A trade. In Bromley, M and O'Malley, T. (Eds.). (1997). *A Journalism Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Carter, C, et al. (Eds.). (1998). *News, Gender and Power*. London: Routledge.
- Cevasco, G.A. (1993). *The 1890's: An Encyclopaedia of British Literature Art & Culture*. London: Garland Publishing.
- Clarke, T. (1922). Women in Journalism. In Bromely, M. and O'Malley, T. (1997). *A Journalism Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Clayton, J. (1992). *Journalism for Beginners - How to get into Print and get Paid for it*. London: Paitkus.
- Coddington, A. (1997). *One of the Lads - Women who Follow Football*. London: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Coleman, N. and Hornby, N. (1996). *The Picador Book of Sportswriting*. London: Picador.
- Collins, P. (1996). *The Sportswriter: Twenty Years of Award-Winning Sports Journalism*. London: Virgin.

- Compton, R & Sanderson, K. (1990). *Gendered Jobs and Social Change*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Costelloe, R. afterwards Strachey, R. (1935). *Careers: Openings of Women's Employment and a Guide for those Seeking Work*. London: Faber & Faber.
- Crawshay, M. I. (1932). *Journalism for Women*. London: Fleet Publications.
- Creedon, P. (Ed.). (1989). *Women in Mass Communications - Challenging Gender Values*. London: Sage.
- _____. (Ed.). (1994). *Women, Sport and the Media: Challenging Gender Values*. London: Sage.
- Davies, K. et al. (1987). *Out of Focus: Writings on Women and the Media*. London: The Women's Press.
- D'Cruze, S. (1995). Women and the Family. In Purvis, J. (Ed.). (1995). *Women's History Britain 1850 -1945: An Introduction*. London: UCL Press.
- De Beauvoir, S. (1988). *The Second Sex*. (Picador Classics edit.) Translated and Edited by Pashley, H.M. London: Pan Books.
- Dawson, J. (1904). *Practical Journalism: How to Enter there on and Succeed. A Manual for Beginners*. (2nd Edit). London: L Upcott Gill.
- Dex, S. (1984). *Women's Work Histories: An analysis of the Women and Employment Survey*. Department of Employment: Research paper no. 46.
- Dougary, G. (1994). *The Executive Tart and Other Myths: Media Women Talk Back*. London: Virago Press.
- Edelman, M. (1966). *The Mirror: A Political History*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Elliot, P. (1972). *The Sociology of the Professions*. Edited by John Wakeford. London: Macmillan.
- Elliot, P. (1978). Professional Ideology and Organisational Change: the Journalist since 1800. In Boyce, G., Curran, J., and Wingate P. *Newspaper History: From the 17th Century to the Present Day*. London: Constable and Company. p. 187.
- Elwood-Akers, V. (1988). *Women War Correspondents in the Vietnam War - 1961 -1975*. London: The Scarecrow Press. Inc.
- Emig, J. (1968). Barriers of Investigative Sports Journalism: An Emprical Inquiry into the Conditions of Information Transmissions. *International Review for Society of Sport*. 21, 2/3, pp. 115-130.
- Ewart, A. and Leonard, V. (1982). *100 Years of Fleet Street: As Seen through the Eyes of the Press Club*. Published on behalf of the Press Club. London: Brant Wright Associates.
- Fasting, K (1987). Sport and women's culture. *Women's Studies International Forum*. 10, 4. 361 - 368.
- Fensch, T. (1995). *The Sports Writing Handbook* (2nd Edition). Hove: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Fidell, L. and Delamater, J. (Eds.) (1971). *Women in the Professions: What's all the fuss about?* California: Sage Publications Ltd.

- Fitzhenry, M. (1990). Stop Press. *Sport & Leisure*. July/August, pp. 34-35.
- Friedan, B. (1963). *The Feminine Mystique*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Fogarty, M. Et al. (1981). *Women in Top Jobs 1968-1979*. London: Heinemann Educational Books.
- Garrison, B. and Salwen, M. (1989). Newspaper Sport Journalists. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*. Vol. 13, no. 2. p. 568, 57-68.
- Gearing, B. and McNeill, P. (Eds). (1999). *Seventy Years of BBC Sport*. London: Andre Deutsch Ltd.
- Gelfand, L.I. and Heath, H.E. (1969). *Modern Sportswriting*. Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, Ames.
- Glanville, B. (1999). *Football Memories*. London: Virgin.
- Goodman, J. (1973). *Anything but Housework*. Lavenham, Suffolk: Terence Dalton.
- Graham, M. (1949). *Journalism for Women*. London: Werner Laurie.
- Griffiths, D. (Ed.) (1992). *The Encyclopedia of the British Press 1422-1992*. London: Macmillan Press.
- Hannam, J. (1997). Women, History and Protest. In Richardson, D and Robinson, V. (Eds.). *Introducing Women's Studies*. (2nd edit.). London: Macmillan
- Hanscombe, G. and Smyers, V. (1987). *Writing for their Lives: The Modernist Women 1910 - 1940*. London: The Women's Press.
- Hargreaves, Jennifer. (1994). *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the history and Sociology of Women's Sports*. London: Routledge.
- Hargreaves, John. (1986). *Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Harris, G and Spark, D. (1966). *Practical Newspaper Reporting*. London. Heinemann.
- Heald, H. (Ed). (2000). *Britain's Century: Year by Year from 1900 to 2000*. London: Dorling Kindersley.
- Herd, H. (1952). *The March of Journalism: The Story of the British Press from 1622 to the Present Day*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- Heinz-Dietrich, F. (1995). *Sports Journalist at its Best*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Hodgson, F.W. (1993). *Modern Newspaper Practice: A Primer on the Press* (3rd edit.). London: Focal Press.
- Hohenberg, J. (1978). *The Professional Journalist: A Guide to the Practices and Principles of the News Media* (3rd edit.). Kansas: Columbia University, Emeritus University of Kansas.
- Holland, P. (1991). *Women and the Media*. East Sussex: Wayland Publishers.
- Holland, P. (1996). When a Woman Reads the News. In Baehr, H. and Gray, A. (eds) *Turning it On: A Readers in Women and Media*. London: Arnold.

- Hollingworth, C. (1990). *Front Line*. London: Johnathon Cape.
- Holt, R. (1989). *Sport and the British: A Modern History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hudson, D. (1945). *British Journalists and Newspapers*. London: Collins.
- Hunt, A. (1968). *A Survey of Women's Employment: A Survey carried out on Behalf of the Ministry of Labour of the Government Social Survey in 1965. Vol. II: Tables*. London: HMSO.
- Hunter, F. (1992). *Girl Reporters: Entry, Training, Career and Networking in late Victorian England*. Unpublished paper. Research Society for Victorian Periodicals Conference.
- Hunter, F. (1982) *Grub Street Journalism and Academia: The Relationship between Journalism and Education 1880 -1940 with Special Reference to the London University Diploma for Journalism 1919 - 1939*. Unpublished PhD. Thesis, City of London University.
- Hunter, F. (1988). *New Woman's Access to the New Journals*. Draft Lecture for Royal Society of Victorian Periodicals, Chicago Conference.
- Hunter, F. Women in British Journalism. In Griffiths, D. (Ed.) (1992). *The Encyclopedia of the British Press 1422-1992*. London: Macmillan Press.
- (1993). *The Hutchinson Dictionary of Biography*. (2nd Edit). Oxford: Helicon.
- (1992). *International Who's Who of Women*. (1st edit). London :Europa.
- James, S. (1984). *A Dictionary of Sexist Quotations*. Sussex: The Harvester Press.
- Jardine, D.R. (1936). *Cricket - How to Succeed by D.R. Jardine*. London: Evans Brothers.
- Kemsley, Viscount. (Ed.). (1950). *The Kemsley Manual of Journalism*. London: Cassell & Co. Ltd.
- Kenyon, O. (1992). *800 Years of Women's Letters*. Stroud: Alan Sutton.
- Knightley, P.(1975). *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist and Myth Maker from the Crimea to Vietnam*. London: Andre-Deutsch.
- (1908). *The Ladies Court Book*. London: W.H. Smith & Sons.
- (1919). *The Ladies Who's Who*. London: The International Art & Publishing.
- Lawrence, Arthur. (1903). *Journalism as a Profession*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Lensky, H. (1992). Whose sport? Whose traditions? Canadian women and sport in the Twentieth Century. *The international Journal of the History of Sport*. April, Vol. 9.
- Lessing, D. and Schueter (Ed.). (1994). *A Small Personal Voice: Essay's, Reviews and Interviews*. London: Famingo. (An imprint of HarperCollins Publishers).
- Lever, J and Wheeler, S. (1984). The Chicago Tribune Sports Page 1900-1975. *Sociology of Sport Journal*. Vol. 1, no. 4. pp. 299-313.
- Levy, P. (1967). *The Press Council - History, Procedure and Cases*. London: Macmillian.
- Longhurst, H. (1971). *My Life and Soft Times*. London: Cassell.
- _____. (1989). *Only on Sundays*. London: Sports pages, Simon & Schuster.

- Lopez, S. (1997). *Women on the Ball: A Guide to Women's Football*. London: Scarlet Press.
- Low, F. (1904). *Press Work for Women: A Text Book for the Young Woman Journalist: What to Write, How to Write it, and Where to Send it*. London: R. Upcott Gills.
- McCarthy, T. (1989). *War Games: The Story of Sport in World War Two*. London: A Queen Anne Press Book (a division of MacDonald & Co.).
- McCrane, K. (1988). *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women 1870 - 1914*. London: Routledge.
- McDermid, J. (1995). Women and Education. In Purvis, J. (Ed.). (1995). *Women's History Britain 1850 -1945: An Introduction*. London: UCL Press.
- McKay, J. (1992). Anchoring Media Images of Technology and Sport. *Women's Studies International Forum*. 15, 2. pp. 205 - 218.
- McKenna, Ethel. M. M. (1903). *The Woman's Library. Vol. 1: Educations and Professions*. London: Chapman & Hall.
- McIntosh, P. and Charlton, V. (1985). *The Impact of Sport for all Policy 1966 - 1984 And a Way Forward*. London: The Sports Council, and West London Institute of Higher Education.
- MacDonald, K.M. (1995). *The Sociology of the Professions*. London: Sage Publications.
- Mackie, Keith. (1997). *The Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews*. St Andrews: The Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St Andrews.
- Mansfield, F.J. (1943). *Gentlemen, the Press! Chronicles of a Crusade. (Official History of the National Union of Journalists)*. London: W.H. Allen & Co.
- Marshment, M. (1997). The Picture is Political: Representation of Women in Contemporary Popular Culture. In Richardson, D and Robinson, V. (Eds.). *Introducing Women's Studies*. (2nd edit.). London: Macmillan.
- Marzolf, M. (1977) *Up From the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists*. New York: Communication Arts Books, Hastings House Publishers.
- Mason, T. (Ed.). (1989). *Sport in Britain: A Social History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mattelart, M. (1986). *Women, Media, Crisis, Femininity and Disorder*. London: Comedia.
- Mills, K. (1990). *A Place in the News: From the Women's Pages to the Front Page*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Moers, E. (1978). *Literary Women*. London: Women's Press.
- Moi, T. (1994). *Sexual Textual Politics: Feminist Literary Theory*. London: Routledge.
- Mosely, S.A. (1935). *The Truth about a Journalist*. London; Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd.
- Motson, J. (1996). *Motty's Diary: A Year in the Life*. London: Virgin.
- Mrozek, D. (1987). The 'Amazon' and the American 'Lady' Sexual Fears of Women as Athletes. pp. 282 - 298. In Mangan, J. and Park, R. (Eds.) *From 'fair sex' to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras*. London: Frank Cass and Company Limited

- (1966). *The National Newspaper Industry - A Survey*. London: The Economist Intelligence Unit.
- National Union of Journalists. (1984). ADM Committee on Equality.
- NCTJ (National Council for the Training of Journalists) Ltd. (1996) *Journalist Training and Assessment: The Systems, the Options, the Costs, and the NVQ Framework*.
- Needham, L.W. (1973). *50 Years of Fleet Street*. London: Michael Joseph.
- Newlin, M. and Collins, T. (1999). *Reuters Century of Great British Sport*. London: CollinsWillow.
- Nicholson, G. (1970). Sports Page. In Boston, R. (Ed.). *The Press we Deserve*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. 88-97
- Nicolson, P. (1997). Motherhood and Women's Lives. In Richardson, D and Robinson, V. (Eds.). *Introducing Women's Studies*. (2nd edit.). London: Macmillan.
- Park, R. (1987). Sport, Gender and Society in a Transatlantic Victorian Perspective. pp. 58-93. In Mangan, J. and Park, R. (Eds.) *From 'fair sex' to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras*. London: Frank Cass and Company Limited.
- Polley, M. (1998). *Moving the Goalposts: A History of Sport and Society Since 1945*. London: Routledge.
- Prather, J. (1971). Why Women Can't be More Like Men. In Fidell, L. and Delamater, J. (Eds.) (1971). *Women in the Professions: What's all the fuss about?* California: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Prochnau, W. (1996). *Once Upon a Distant War: Reporting from Vietnam*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing.
- Purvis, J. (Ed.). (1995). *Women's History Britain 1850 -1945: An Introduction*. London: UCL Press.
- Rapport, R. (1994). *A Kind of Grace: A Treasury of Sportswriting by Women*. California: Zenobia Press.
- Read, D. (1992). *The Power of News: The History of Reuters 1849-1989*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Revil, L. (Ed). (1965). *The Journalist Craft: A Guide to Modern Practice*. London: Angus & Robertson.
- Riddell, Lord. (1929). The Psychology of the Journalist. In Bromley, M and O'Malley, T. (Eds). (1997). *A Journalism Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Ross, I. (1936). *Ladies of the Press: The Story of Women in Journalism by an Insider*. London: Harper & Brothers Publishers.
- Ross, K. (2002). Women at Work: Journalism as Engendered Practice. In *Journalism Studies*. 2, 4. Pp. 531 - 44.
- Rowbotham, S. (1999). *A Century of Women: The History of Women in Britain and the United States*. Penguin: London.
- Rowe, D. (1991). The Misery of Stringer and Clichés of Sportswriting. *Cultural Studies*. Vol. 5, no.1. pp. 77-90.

Rowe, D. (1999). *Sport, Culture and the Media*. Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Russell, A. (1984). *A Certain Voice*. Bolton: Ross Anderson Publications.

Schlipp-Golden, M. and Murphy, S. M. (1983). *Great Women of the Press*. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press.

Sebba, A. (1994). *Battling for News: The Rise of the Woman Reporter*. London: Sceptre. (Originally published by Hodder and Stoughton.)

Seymour, C. (1996). *The British Press and Broadcasting since 1945* (2nd edit.). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Sex Discrimination- A Guide to the Sex Discrimination Act 1975. Home Office reprinted with Amendments 1978.

Skelton, C. (1997). Women and Education. In Richardson, D and Robinson, V. (Eds.). *Introducing Women's Studies*. (2nd edit.). London: Macmillan.

Simonis, H. (1917). *The Street of Ink: An Intimate History of Journalism*. Cassell & Company. Ltd.

Sinclair, R. (1949). *The British Press: The Journalist and his Conscience*. London: Home & Van Thal.

Smith, A. (1979). *The Newspaper: An International History*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Sphinx, A. (pseud). (1918). *Journalism as a Career for Women*. London: George Newnes.

Stacey, J. (1997). Feminist Theory: Capital F, Capital T. In Richardson, D and Robinson, V. (Eds.). *Introducing Women's Studies*. (2nd edit.). London: Macmillan.

Stead, W.T. (1886). Future of Journalism. *The Contemporary Review*. Nov, no. 50. pp. 663-679.

Steiner, L. (1997). Gender at Work: Early Accounts by Women Journalists. *Journalism History*. 23, 1.

Stewart, J. et al Eds. (1955 - 1958, 1960, and 1962). *British Union Catalogue of Periodicals: A Record of the Periodicals of the World from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day in British Libraries*. London: Butterworth.

Stott, M. (1994). *Forgetting's No Excuse: The Autobiography of Mary Stott. Journalist and Campaigner*. Halifax: Remploy, A Portway Large Print Book. (First published 1973).

Terry, R. (1988). *Women in Khaki: The Story of the British Woman Soldier*. Columbus Books: London.

Turnstall, J. (1971). *Journalists at Work - Specialist Correspondents: Their News Organisations, News Sources and Competitor Colleagues*. London: Constable.

Tunstall, J. (1996). *Newspaper Power: The New National Press in Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Unesco. (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation). (1958). *The Training of Journalists: A World-Wide Survey on the Training of Personnel for the Mass Media*. Holland: Unesco.

- Uglow, J. (Compiler and Editor). (1982). *The Macmillan Dictionary of Women's Biography*. London: Macmillan.
- Vader, J.E., (1994). Pioneers. in Rapport, R. *A Kind of Grace: A Treasury of Sportswriting by Women*. California: Zenobia Press, 21-28. p. 21.
- Valgeirsson, G and Snyder, E. (1986). A Cross Cultural Comparison of Newspaper Sports Sections. *International Review for Society of Sport*. Vol. 21, no. 2/3. pp.131-140.
- Voss, F. (1994). *Reporting the War: The Journalistic Coverage of World War II*. Smithsonian Institution Press for the National Portrait Gallery, Washington DC.
- Wagnor, L. (1989). *Women War Correspondents of World War II*. London: Greenwood Press.
- Watkins, A. (1989). *Sports Writer's Eye: An Anthology*. London: MacDonald, Queen Anne Press.
- Weis, Kurt. (1986). How the Print Media Affect Sports and Violence: The Problem of Sports Journalism. *International Review for Society of Sport*. Vol. 21, no. 2/3. pp. 239-252.
- Welch, D. (Ed). (1998). *The Daily Telegraph - Century of Sport: Great Sporting Events and Personalities of the Twentieth Century*. London: MacMillan.
- Wenner, I. (1989). *Media, Sports and Society; Foundation for the Communication of Sport*. London: Sage.
- Wesker, A. (1977). *Journey into Journalism: A very Personal Account in Four Parts*. London: Writers and Readers publishing Co-operative.
- Whannel, G. (1992). *Fields in Vision: Television Sport and Cultural Transformation*. London: Routledge.
- Whelehan, I. (1995). *Modern Feminist Thought: From Second Wave to 'Post-Feminism'*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- White. C. (1977). *The Women's Periodical Press in Britain 1946 - 1976*. Royal Commission on the Press, Working Paper Number 4.
- (1986). *Who's Who in the Press*. (2nd edit). Ayr: Carrick Publishing.
- Williams, Greg. (1995). *The Esquire Book of Sports Writing*. London: Penguin.
- Wilson, P. (1977). *The Man they couldn't Gag: An Autobiography*. London: Hutchinson Stanley Paul.
- Witz. A (1992). *Professions and Patriarchy*. London: Routledge.
- _____. (1997). Women and Work. In Richardson, D and Robinson, V. (Eds.). *Introducing Women's Studies*. (2nd edit.). London: Macmillan.
- (1933). *The Women's Who's Who*. London: Shaw.
- (1995). *Women and the Sports Media: UK Directory and Media Guide*. London: Sports Council and Women's Sports Foundation.
- Women in the Media Industry in Northern Ireland. (1996). *Who's Making the News?* Belfast: Northern Ireland Women's Rights Movement & Downtown Women's Centre.

Zoonen van, L. (1994). *Feminist Media Studies*. London: Sage.

2.2. PERIODICALS.

- Arlott, J. and Rhodda, J. (1982). TV - the Distorting Mirror. *Guardian*. 27 November. p.15.
- Baistow, T. (1972). Ladies of the Street. *New Statesman*. 12 May. 632.
- Ball, I. (1979). When Women take over the Airwaves. *Daily Telegraph*. 6 January. p. 7.
- Baerlein, R. (1980). Women Galloping to the Front. *Observer*. 13 January. p. 30.
- Billington, M. (1968). Two Sexes are better than One. *Times*. 16 March. p. 21.
- Blandford, L. (1973). Beeb Birds. *Observer*. 15 July. p. 26.
- Blue, A. (1987). Are Women Scared to Run Faster? *New Statesman*. 30 October, pp. 21-22.
- Brasher, C. (1991). His Race, it seems is Never-ending: Profile: Chris Brasher, London's Marathon Man. *Independent*. Saturday, 20 April. p. 14.
- Brasher, S. (1972). 'Cheat!' Taunt at Mottram. *Observer*. 20 August. p. 26.
- _____. (1972). How Nastase keeps them All Guessing. *Observer* 23 January. p. 19.
- _____. (1972). Hank finds the Range. *Observer*. 28 May. p. 23.
- _____. (1972). Over and Out. *Observer*. 23 January. p. 20.
- _____. (1973). In on a Limb. *Observer*. 4 November. p. 27.
- Breen, G. (1976). Among my Souvenirs of 30 years in Sport. *Times*. 15 May. p. 14.
- Brennan, C. (1990). Jocks, Gender and Justice: A Woman Sports Reporter's View from the Men's locker room. *The Washington Post*. 30 September. p. D1-2.
- Burt, E.V. (1997). A Bid For Legitimacy: The Woman's Press Club Movement, 1881-1900. *Journalism History*. Vol. 23, no. 2.
- Coddington, A. (1996). Popping Up ... Jills in the Box. *Guardian*. 12 August. p. 14-15.
- Coleman, M. (1980). How the Marathon Girls got into their Stride. *Times*. 14 August. p. 6.
- Coltart, A. (1994). Women in Journalism. (Introduction To Series: Six Page Feature, including, Facts on Women in the NUJ, Hands off! Don't tolerate sexual harassment, Women reporters are not Bimbos). *Journalist*. February/March. pp. 15-20.
- Crawford, E. (1893). Journalism as a Profession for Women. *The Contemporary Review*. September. pp. 362-371.
- Creedon, P. (1993). Training Women as a Sports Reporter. *Journalism Educator*. Vol. 48, no. 1. pp. 46-51.
- Cunningham, J. (1985). When the Sprint for Fair Play turned into an Obstacle Race. *Guardian*. 24 June. p. 21.
- Curran, C. (1965). Journalism for Squaws. *Spectator*. 19 November. pp. 650-1.
- Davies, H. (1992). For the Sunday Times Voice on Football, Read the People. *Independent*. 5 May. p. 14.

- Davies, R. (1978). The Agony of the Arena. *Times Literary Suppt.* 10 March. pp. 279-80.
- Davies, R. (1984). TV Sport's Misson to Entertain: Sport and the Media. *Listener.* 111. 10 May. pp. 14-5.
- Day-Lewis, S. (1977). Are they learning to keep quiet. *Daily Telegraph.* 8 August. p. 7.
- Douglas, T. (1982). Expanding TV means further Boost for Booming Sports Sponsorship. *Times.* 9 November. p. 21.
- Doust, D. (1973). A Stroke of Greatness. *Sunday Times.* 9 September. magazine. p.81.
- Eberhard, W. and Myers, M L. (1988). Beyond the locker room: Women in Sports on Major Daily Newspapers. *Journalism Quarterly* no 65. p 598.
- Edmunds, L. (1973). Women on the Wavelengths. *Daily Telegraph.* 16 February. p. 17.
- Evans, S. (1982). Waiting at the End of the Cue. *Guardian.* 15 May. p. 13.
- Evetts, W.E. (1976). When the Ref Scored an Goal: Mixed Match Ladies v Gents Played at Halfords Lane, Smethwick. *Black Countryman.* 10 Autumn. pp. 54-5.
- Fegan, L. (1990). Advice from a Woman Sportswriter who's been there. *Editor & Publisher.* November 24. Pp. 37 & 48.
- Finn, R. (1990). Female Reporters see Renewed Resistance. *New York Times.* 3 October. pp. D31-32.
- Forgan, L. (1980). Women in the Times: A Certain Set of Reticence. *Guardian.* 8 December. p. 10.
- Francis. C. (1977). They're Flying Tonight. *Observer.* 2 October. p. 20.
- Frater, A. (1974). Angles on Horse Back. *Daily Telegraph.* 5 April. magazine p. 44.
- Franklin, O. (1971). Why is Television so Scared of a Woman's Face. *Daily Telegraph.* 15 September. p. 11.
- Franklin. O. (1972). Fleet St. Women. *Spectator.* 20 May. p. 770.
- Gale, G. (1980). Retired, Not Out. *Sunday Times magazine.* 31 August. p. 79.
- Giles. K. (1999). King Kevin's Throne on a Shaky Footing. *Scotland on Sunday.* 28 March. p. 9.
- Giles. K. (1999). Limp Reaction to Liverpool's Frolics Strips Ambitions Bare. *Scotland on Sunday.* 3 January. p. 7.
- Giles. K. (1999). The Rats are Leaving their Sinking Ship. *Scotland on Sunday.* 14 March. p. 9.
- Glanville, B. (1965). Looking for an Idiom. *Encounter.* 25. July. pp. 84-8.
- Glanville, B. (1995). Still Looking for an Idiom. *Prospect.* October, Vol.1. pp. 44-7.
- Glover, T. (1990). Rough Ride on the not-so Fairways. *Independent.* 19 December. p. 30.
- Hale. J. (1989). Awesome Davis Flattens Hallet. *The Independent.* 26 April. p. 30.

- Harvey, B. (1977). Only a Game, but a *Perceptive Game*. *Daily Telegraph*. 14 November. p. 13.
- Hamilton, A. (1973). A Bit of the Old Heave Ho. *Guardian*. 22 June. p.11.
- Hennessy, J. (1973). Keep the Petticoat Flying on the Sports Field. *Times*. 21 May. p. 7.
- Hills, N. (1976). Mixed Cricket. *Observer*. 8 August. p. 19.
- Hunn, D. (1979). Walking Tall in a Chair. *Observer*. 2 December. p. 30.
- Kahn, L. (1990). Out of Bounds in Stronghold of Male Sport. *The Mail on Sunday*. 22 July. p. 24.
- Kahn, L. (1992). I've Seen More Flesh on the M1 Roadworks! *The Mail on Sunday*. 19 July. p. 93.
- Karter, J. (1977). The 'bionic' woman with her sights on the National. *Times*. 19 March. p. 5.
- Keate, F. (1984). Counsel for the TV Commentators. *Guardian*. 7 January. p. 15.
- Keating, F. (1978). Ladies didn't run until 1928: Now they Face the Sex Test Hurdle. *Guardian*. 3 August. p. 9.
- Keenan, B. (1968). Where the Hell do you Think you are Lady, Fifth Avenue? *Nova*. May. p. 64-7.
- Lacey, D. (1983). Open Season for Soccer's Armchair Critics. *Guardian*. 20 August. p. 13.
- Lennon, P. (1978). Match of the Year for Silver Tongues. *Sunday Telegraph*. 16 April. p. 6.
- Lovesey, J. (1983). Man-made Superwoman. *The Sunday Times*. 14 August.
- Lowry, S. (1980). The Big Clap-Out. *Observer*. 3 August. p. 34
- Lustig, R and Owen, L. (1984). Are Women Closing the Gender Gap. *Observer*. 12 August. p. 9.
- MacArthur, J. (1990). Thomson Hears the Call for Instant Action. *Times*. 26 October. p. 44.
- McIlvanney, H. (1978). The Carnivorous Eye. *Observer*. 2 April. p. 18.
- Maggach, D. (1983). Julie's Action Replay. *Times*. 16 November. p. 9.
- Marling, S. (1990). Giving the Fair Sex a Fair Run on the Broadcasting Fast Track. *Sunday Times*. 14 October. Section 3, p. 9.
- Mott, S. (1993). Can he Kick it? *Sunday Times*. 4 April. Magazine. pp. 4-5.
- Mott, S. (1996). To the Revolution. *Daily Telegraph*. 21 October. p. 57.
- Murray, I. (1978). The Voices of Cricket. *Observer*. 13 August. magazine. pp. 18-19, 21-2, 25.
- Pannick, D. (1981). How the FA Kicks Girl Footballers off the Park. *Guardian*. 16 November. p. 9.
- Peachment, C. (1991). A Quick Jab at the Noble Art. *Independent*. 25 March. p. 12.

- Plumridge, C. (1978). Women's Golf Swings High. *Illustrated London News*. No. 266. August. pp. 41-3.
- Pole, J.R. (1981). Test Cricket Commentaries. *Listener*. 106, 17/24 December. pp. 752-3.
- Press, J. (1994). D'you Wanna be in my Gang? *Guardian*. 7 November. p. 10-11.
- Plumridge, C. (1978). Women's Golf Swings High. *Illustrated London News*. No. 266. August. pp. 41-3.
- Rantzen, E. (1990). Last War of Liberation at the BBC. *Times*. 18 October. p. 19.
- Rodwell, L. (1985). Leaving the Touch Line for the Glories of the Scrum. *Times*. 10 April. p. 9.
- Romney, J. (1991). The Big Chill. *The Guardian*. 10 August. Supt. pp. 12-13.
- Rowley, J. (1998). Deadlier than the Male. *Night and Day: The Mail on Sunday Review*. 27 December. p. 6.
- Rusbridge, A. (1981). Underrated Overarm. *Guardian*. 28 August. p. 7.
- Ryde, P. (1974). Women on the International Fairway to Fortune. *Times*. 20 April. p. 12.
- Ryde, P. (1974). A Golf Millionairess in the Making. *Times*. 3 August. p. 12.
- Ryde, P. (1976). A Rookie's hard lessons on the top. *Times*. 10 April. p. 14.
- Seven Reasons Why the Times is a Pleasure to Read. [Hilary Gelson, Suzy Menkes, Valerie Knox, Prudence Glynn, Jeanette Collins, Sue Puddefoot, Patricia de Joux]. (1967). *Sunday Times*. 9 April. Magazine. p. 46.
- Shrapnel, N. (1969). The Girls Behind the Goal Posts. *Guardian*. 15 January. p. 7.
- Spigl, F. (1979). The Name of the Games. *Listener*. 101, 22 March. p. 415.
- Stott, M. (1972). Changing Attitudes among Women over the Past Decade. *Guardian*. 5 January. p. 9.
- Stringer, M.E. (1913). Women as Sports Journalists. *The Woman Journalist*. No.18, Nov.
- Sutherland, S. (1978). India's Golden Hope. *Guardian*. 3 August. p.16.
- And The Times is a Pleasure to Read because it's a Pleasure to Write. (1967). *Sunday Times*. 9 April. Magazine. p. 47/48.
- Taylor, L. (1991). Hoddle Plays the Thinker. *Times*. 5 April. p. 37.
- Theberge, N. (1983). Toward a Feminist Alternative of Sport as a Male Preserve. *Quest*. 37, pp. 193-202.
- Thompson, L. (1995). A Match Made in Heaven? *Guardian*. 21 September. p. 7.
- Townsend, S. (1959). Women as Writers. *Royal Society of Arts*. May. p. 378-386.
- Walker, I. (1984). Fight out at the Yewtopia Lounge. *Observer*., 24 June. magazine. pp. 26 - 7, 29.

- Wansell, G. (1972). A Ticket to Ride - At Last. *Times*. 1 May. p. 9.
- Warner, Townsend S. (1959). Women as Writers. *Royal Society of Arts*. May. pp. 378-386.
- Watson, J. (1981). The High-Scoring Lady of Los Locos. *Times*. 5 September. p. 8.
- Welch, J. (1978). Hollins the Lone Ranger. *Observer*. 12 February. 20.
- _____. (1981). Oiling Sports Troubled Water. *Observer*. 18 January. p. 24.
- _____. (1978). Liverpool on a Bender. *Observer*. 2 April. p. 18.
- _____. (1990). Is Sport Game for Women. *The Times*. 12 October. p. 18.
- Whannel, G. (1984). Lazy Saturday Afternoon. *Listener*. 111, 10 May. p. 35.
- White, J. (1972). Women Jockeys take a Tilt at the Turf. *Observer*. 30 April. p. 26.
- Whitehead, J. (1989). Cardwell Adds to her Impressive Record. *Times*. 19 May. p. 47.
- Whitehorn, K. (1973). Birds of the Air. *Observer*. 4 November. p. 30.
- Williamson, T. (1977). Christine, a Girl keeping her Feet on the Football Ground. *Daily Telegraph*. 30 April. p. 10.
- (1972). Here Come the Fillies. *Economist*. No. 243. 13 May. pp. 27-28.
- (1972). Women in Sport: The Hard Facts. *Times*. 25 September. p. 6.
- (1974). The Toothpaste Circuit. *Economist*. No. 252. 17 August. p. 27.
- (1975). Women want a Sporting Chance. *Economist*. No. 255. 14 June. pp. 943-44.
- (1976). Women's Lob. *Economist*. 260, 3 July. p. 28.
- (1980). No Longer the Rink Outsiders. *Sunday Times magazine*. 28 September.
- (1980). The Voice of Cricket. *Illustrated London News*. 268. September. p. 29.
- (1991). Bowled Out on a Sticky Wicket of Tradition. *Sunday Times*. 5 May. Section 2. p 2.
- (1992). Commissioners are a Grand Finale to a Smash-hit Convention. *AWSM Newsletter (New York City Convention Issue)*. July.
- (1996). Six Authors in Search of Sport's Character. *Guardian*. 25 November. p.1.
- (1996/7). Living in Man's World. *Irish Golf Monthly*. December/January. 7.
- (1997). Coaches Corner *AWSM Newsletter*. Spring.